Men-at-Arms

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Armies in Southern Russia 1918–19

Phoebus Athanassiou • Illustrated by Peter Dennis

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Armies in Southern Russia 1918–1919

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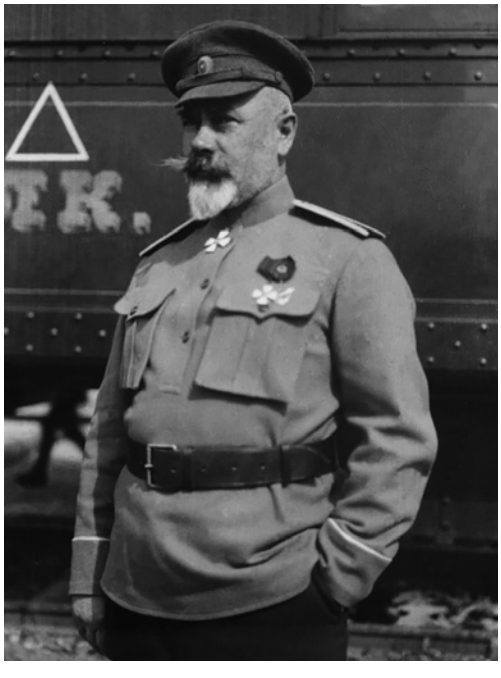
Series editors Martin Windrow & Nick Reynolds

ARMIES in SOUTHERN RUSSIA 1918–1919

INTRODUCTION

On 18 December 1918 – only 37 days after the Armistice that ended World War I on the Western Front, but more than a year after the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917 – a contingent of 1,800 men of the French Army's 176th Infantry Regiment from the 156th Infantry Division landed in the southern Ukrainian port of Odessa on the Black Sea, which they occupied largely unopposed. This was the opening act of what came to be known as the 'Southern Russia campaign', of which the ostensible aim was to provide Allied military support to LtGen Denikin's anti-Bolshevik 'Volunteer Army'.

This French-led intervention was soon to end in humiliating failure. On 28 April 1919 the last Entente (Allied) troops – mostly French and Greek – were unceremoniously evacuated from the Crimean port of Sevastopol, under the watchful eye of a pro-Bolshevik Ukrainian army with which a fragile truce had been concluded for that purpose. The aim of this book is to outline this ill-fated campaign, and the armies involved in it. Together with the equally fruitless intervention by British and US troops in Northern Russia and Siberia, it achieved little beyond leaving the USSR with a deep and lasting mistrust of the Western powers.



Historical context

Portrayed by many as simply an anti-Bolshevik 'crusade', the idea of Entente interventions in Russia was originally motivated by the wish to reactivate the defunct Eastern Front following the Tsarist collapse of March 1917, compelling Germany to retain substantial forces there. This hope vanished after the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917, and in March 1918 the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk between the Bolsheviks and the Central Powers took Russia out of World War I. The actual deployments of Entente troops in Russia only took place after the Armistice of 11 November 1918 and the Central Powers' capitulation, and thus became interventions in the Russian Civil War.

These expeditions sought to serve a number of purposes that were only indirectly linked to Western anti-Bolshevism. The first was the Entente's desire to monitor the withdrawal of Central Powers forces from the territory they had continued to occupy in the East, and to extend Western influence in the Baltic and Black Sea regions. A second was a reaction to the Bolshevik government's decision, in early 1918, to repudiate

repayment of Russia's foreign debts. Another was tied to the fate of the famous Czech Legion, a disciplined force of several thousand ex-Imperial Army veterans and former Austro–Hungarian Army POWs of Czech and Slovak origin, which had been raised in Russia for use against the Central Powers, but was stranded in Siberia after the Bolsheviks' seizure of power.

Ukraine in 1917–18

The politico-military situation in Ukraine in 1917–18 may fairly be described as chaotic, as the collapse of first the Russian, and ultimately the Austro–Hungarian and German empires saw the breakdown of all state authority. Leaders of a proliferation of Ukrainian armed groups were motivated by either nationalism, political ideology, or simply local aspirations. Their units, often spontaneously formed, were of varying character and strength, but all suffered from *ad hoc* organization and logistics. Virtually the only source of trained officers and men was the former Imperial Russian Army, and its local depots were the only major sources of uniforms, equipment and weapons.

After the Tsarist collapse, in March 1917 a Ukrainian Central Assembly *(Rada)* was formed, and many Ukrainian-manned units of the Russian Army thereafter adopted an openly national character, which was tolerated by Kerensky's Russian provisional government. The Bolshevik coup of November 1917 provoked the declarations of both a Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) in the former Russian Ukraine, and a parallel but much smaller Western Ukrainian Republic (ZUNR) in former Austro–Hungarian Galicia. Ukrainian Bolshevik Red Guards from Kharkov captured Kiev in February 1918, but were soon driven out by Central Powers troops (see below, 'German Forces') .

The Treaty of Brest–Litovsk in March 1918 ostensibly recognized Ukrainian self-determination, while leaving some 35 German and Austro–Hungarian divisions in Ukrainian territory. In April 1918 a coup led by the conservative Gen Skoropadski replaced the UNR's *Rada* with his 'Hetmanate' regime, which was briefly protected by the Central Powers (see MAA 412, *Ukrainian Armies 1914–55*).

The November 1918 Armistice cost *Hetman* Skoropadski his Central Powers sponsors. A month later the Hetmanate fell to a military revolt which installed a 'Directory', whose military (and subsequently political) leader was the nationalist Symon Petliura, who re-established the UNR. Meanwhile, a Ukrainian Soviet Army controlled from Moscow was forming in parallel (see below, 'Red Armies'). Against the background of the Russian Civil War – in which Ukrainians would fight on both sides – the UNR and the ZUNR also faced different territorial challenges from their neighbours, and their mutual treaty in January 1919 had little practical effect. In the south, the Entente's attempts to unify anti-Bolshevik resistance failed, due to the mutual hostility between various Ukrainian nationalists on the one hand and the reactionary LtGen Denikin's White forces on the other.

Bone of contention: Czech Legionaries pose for the camera beside a Russian train in the spring of 1919. They are dressed in an assortment of basically Imperial Russian Army uniform items; two men (left, and fourth from right) display the Cross of St George 4th Class, attesting to their Tsarist veteran status. The Bolsheviks' opposition after the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk to the Legion's transfer to France, where it could re-join the fight against the Germans, led the legionaries to mutiny in April 1918. Trying to secure their withdrawal was one reason for the Entente's decision to intervene in Russia. See Men-at-Arms 447, *The Czech Legion* 1914–20. (Author's collection)

In the UNR, the Directory's ragtag regular units were built of volunteers around armatures of former Tsarist veterans, but different segments of the population also formed numerous semi-autonomous local partisan bands (many of which adopted Cossack styles). At the turn of 1918/19 the Directory had perhaps 40,000 regulars and 100,000 guerrillas theoretically under command, divided between four fronts. Of these, the Southern Group under Gen Oleksander Hrekov, facing the Entente intervention, included a formation commanded by *Ataman* Nikifor Gigoriev (a former Tsarist commander, under his birth name of Servetnik). That winter saw the Bolsheviks capture most of Ukraine, and in January 1919 Grigoriev allied himself with them to resist the Allied intervention.

CHRONOLOGY

1918:	
18 December	Elements of French 156th Div land in Odessa, and join up with Polish and White Russian 'Volunteer Army' elements.
25–26 December	French units land at Sevastopol in Crimea, and occupy it unopposed.
1919:	
19 January	First Greek troops (34th Infantry Regt, II Div) land in Odessa.
5 February	Elements of Bolshevik Ukrainian Front capture Kiev once again from UNR forces.
End January–end February 1919	Entente troops occupy Nikolaev (present-day Mykolaiv), Kherson and Tiraspol.
1 March 2019	Moving south-west from Kharkhov, Ataman Grigoriev's pro-Bolshevik Ukrainian forces reach the approaches to Kherson and Nikolaev.
2 March:	First engagement at Kherson.
9–10 March	Evacuation of French and Greek forces from Kherson; occupation of Kherson by Grigoriev's army, followed by exactions and pogrom against the local Greek and Jewish populations.
13 March	French command commences preparations to defend Odessa.
14–16 March	Evacuation of French, Greek and German forces from Nikolaev, which is occupied by Grigoriev's troops.
18 March	Pro-Bolshevik army overruns the Entente force's defences at Berezivka, seizing most of its matériel in situ, including two artillery batteries and five Renault FT tanks.
20 March	Denikin's Volunteer Army retreats before pro-Bolshevik forces at Ochakov, north-east of Odessa.
24 March	Pro-Bolshevik forces occupy Mariopol. Greek 2nd Inf Regt (XIII Div) land

A 'Romanian Revolutionary Battalion' march through Odessa in late 1918, shortly before the French intervention. They wear uniforms of the former Imperial Russian Army, although only a few of them appear to be armed. Judging by the bilingual banner, they are calling for a pro-Bolshevik revolution in Romania; no such revolution ever materialized, and Romania was instrumental in the Entente's plans to contain the spread of Bolshevism from East to West. Because of the strategic location of its warm-water port, Odessa was to become a major objective for the Allies and the Bolsheviks alike. Its fall to the latter in April 1919 sounded the death-knell for France's ambitions in Southern Russia. (Wikimedia – Moscow State Archives)

	in Sevastopol, Crimea, to support Volunteer Army's defence of Perekop isthmus.
25 March	French command issues orders to prepare for the evacuation of Odessa.
26 March	Greek commander Gen Nider requests Greek transport ships for the evacuation of Odessa's Greek civilian population.
1 April	French theatre commander Gen Franchet d'Esperey orders military evacuation of Odessa.
2 April	Pro-Bolshevik forces launch attack against Entente forces defending northern approaches to Odessa in the Kapitanivka-Buyalik sector.
3 April	Pro-Bolshevik troops overrun Denikin's Volunteer Army on Perekop isthmus and break into Crimea.
3–6 April	Entente forces retreat from positions before Odessa and evacuate the city, which is captured and looted by pro-Bolshevik forces. Entente forces withdraw to west bank of Dniester river in Romanian Bessarabia (present-day Moldova), where they occupy defensive positions south of Bender (Bendery), flanked by the Romanian Army's 5th Division.
8 April	Pro-Bolshevik forces take Simferopol in Crimea.
14–16 April	Pro-Bolshevik troops reach outskirts of Sevastopol, and launch unsuccessful assault on the city.
17 April	Truce is agreed between pro-Bolsheviks and Entente defenders of Sevastopol, and preparations begin for its military evacuation.
19–22 April	Mutinies break out aboard French Navy vessels at anchor in Sevastopol.
21–28 April	Entente evacuation of Sevastopol; official end of direct Entente military involvement in Southern Russia (though France will continue indirect support for Denikin's White army).
May–June	Romanian units replace French and Greek troops defending the border with Ukraine; withdrawal of Entente forces from Romanian territory.

Aftermath

From spring 1919, Denikin's Armed Forces of Southern Russia expanded by amalgamation; a Soviet source puts its total strength by July at some 160,000, with 600 artillery pieces and no fewer than 34 armoured trains. The AFSR launched a major summer offensive against the Bolsheviks, and captured Orel and Voronezh in the autumn, but by December 1919 subsequent defeats reduced it to about 10,000 men of a 'Detached Volunteer Corps'. In May 1920 Denikin handed over the remnant to Gen Wrangel's White 'Russian Army' in Crimea.

Meanwhile, Symon Petliura's UNR forces continued resisting Denikin's AFSR, the Red Army, and Polish and Romanian incursions. Forced by Bolshevik victories to withdraw into Poland in December 1919, Petliura formed an alliance with the Poles. In May 1920 his remaining two Ukrainian divisions fought alongside them in Marshal Pilsudski's campaign which temporarily recaptured Kiev from the Red Army's South-Western Front (see MAA 497, *Armies of the Russo–Polish War 1919–21*). However, despite its defeat in the Russo–Polish War, the Red Army was never driven out of Ukraine, and Petliura went into exile.

OUTLINE OF OPERATIONS

UKRAINE

Following the landings in Odessa by elements of the French 156th Div and the Greek 34th Inf Regt, three separate 'fronts' were established: one at Berezivka, 110km (69 miles) north of Odessa; another at Nikolaev, 100km (62 miles) north-east of Odessa; and a third at Kherson, 40km (25 miles) south-east of Nikolaev. Operations began at Kherson, which was threatened in March 1919 by pro-Bolshevik forces sweeping westwards towards Odessa.

Battle of Kherson

The Allies had entrusted the defence of Kherson, located at the mouth of the Dnieper river, to the 1st Bn of the Greek 34th Inf Regt (23 officers and 853 men), plus one 60-strong company of the French 176th Inf Regt, supported by two 65mm mountain guns. This force (subsequently

A photo of Odessa harbour at the time of the Allied intervention in Southern Russia. At least five warships and numerous freighters are visible here. (Wikimedia – source unknown).

Three foreground figures in this photo, of French troops from 16th Colonial Inf Div in the streets of Odessa in January 1919, are of identifiable units. They are (left to right) an enlisted man of the 129e Bataillon de Tirailleurs Sénégalais (see Plate A3), and an officer and non-commissioned officer of the 10e Régiment de Tirailleurs Algériens (see Plate B2). (Wikimedia Commons – source unknown)

reinforced by a second company of the French 176th, and two companies of the Greek 7th Inf Regt) was commanded by the French Major Lanchon. It occupied two main lines of defence: an advanced line demarcated by Kherson's railway station, cemetery, and eastern outskirts, and a fall-back line, dominated by the Kherson Fortress, just south of the advanced line and adjacent to the north bank of the Dnieper. At that time the Dnieper was frozen, and was only kept navigable by ice-breakers.

On 1 March 1919, Ataman Grigoriev's pro-Bolshevik forces reached the town of Snihurivka, 50km (31 miles) to the north of Kherson. Grigoriev sent an ultimatum to the Allied forces, carried by the Greek Lt Mathios, who was responsible for the protection of Kherson railway station: the Entente forces were to lay down their arms and evacuate Kherson by 15.00hrs on 2 March, or face the consequences. The resolute rejection of this demand led to an all-out attack on Kherson, preceded by intense bombardment by Grigoriev's armoured trains.

The first Bolshevik assault on the rail station was repelled, largely thanks to supporting fire from the French gunboat *Pluton,* and four 7.7cm guns of two requisitioned German armoured trains manned by French naval personnel. The assaults continued relentlessly over the next four days. On 7 March, a pro-Bolshevik force of some 3,000 infantry supported by 200 cavalry occupied Kherson's eastern suburbs and cemetery. On 8 March, Grigoriev's forces launched a renewed attack on Kherson's western approaches, rendering the position of the greatly outnumbered defenders precarious.

By 06.00hrs on 9 March, intense enemy pressure had forced the Allied defenders to pull back from the advanced line to the Kherson Fortress, where they came under virtual siege in a narrow area between the Fortress and the harbour. The Allied command dispatched a relief force of two battalions from the Greek 1st Inf Regt (Col Gargalides); although

initially successful, this force was insufficient to turn the tide. On the afternoon of 9 March the garrison's evacuation by boat was authorized. The defenders were successfully withdrawn in the early hours of 10 March, under French naval protection.

The fighting for Kherson had cost the Greek Expeditionary Corps 117 killed (of which 2 officers) and 140 wounded (of which 10 officers); French casualties were reported as 10 dead (of which 2 officers), 21 wounded and one missing. Although they are difficult to establish, Bolshevik casualties are likely to have been substantial. Following its evacuation, Kherson was occupied by elements which one source identifies as being from the '17th Soviet Div' (a formation of some 7,600 men); these committed atrocities against the local Greek and Jewish populations, which had both been supportive of the Allied intervention.

Evacuation of Nikolaev

Built near the mouths of the Bug and Dnieper rivers, approximately 40km (25 miles) north-west of Kherson, the city of Nikolaev (present-day Mykolaiv) had been the headquarters of the Prussian 15th Landwehr Div, one of the Imperial German Army formations charged with the occupation of Ukraine and Crimea following the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk. An estimated 10,000 German troops were stationed there; while awaiting their repatriation to Germany they were responsible for maintaining order in and around the city, under the orders of the French command.

The Allied force committed to Nikolaev's occupation consisted of only a battalion-size element drawn from the Greek 7th Inf Regt, supported by two under-strength French companies. In view of the threat of a popular pro-Bolshevik insurrection in the city, the purpose of the occupation had been to avoid a power vacuum following the German troops' planned withdrawal, and to facilitate Nikolaev's use as a base for future operations deeper into Ukrainian territory. However, following the fall of Kherson the concentration of Bolshevik forces nearby clearly posed an immediate threat to both the Entente and German garrisons. This persuaded the Allied command to pre-emptively evacuate the city; on 14 March the Allied troops were transferred to Odessa, at the cost of abandoning most of their matériel. Grigoriev's pro-Bolshevik forces entered Nikolaev on the afternoon of the same day, just as its German garrison was being evacuated. This allowed Grigoriev to use the city as the main staging post for his final push towards Odessa.

Photographed at the Odessa Imperial stables in 1919, men of the Greek Army's 7th Co, 2nd Bn of 5/ 42 Evzoni Regt pose with their company commander, Capt Christopoulos, in the foreground. Unlike their men,Greek officers serving with Evzoni units wore regular line-infantry uniforms. (Wikimedia – source unknown)

Evacuation of Berezivka

Of the three 'fronts' established in the Ukrainian area of operations, that of Berezivka north-west of

A platoon of mostly youthful Red Army soldiers in 1918. Even at this early stage of the Civil War their appearance is fairly uniform, with Imperial Army clothing and equipment; however, two (second left and far right) have civilian headgear, and even under magnification only about three of them seem to display early Bolshevik cap badges. They appear to be armed with the main weapon employed by both sides in this war – the 7.62mm M1891 or 'three-line' rifle. (Author's collection)

Nikolaev was the most important, although it was in fact only a weak 10-km (6-mile) defensive line stretching north-eastwards between the villages of Vassilinovo and Berezivka. It was established on 20–21 February 1919, when the 2nd Bn of the Greek 34th Inf Regt – supported by elements of the French Army's 10th Algerian Rifles Regt and 4th Africa Light Horse Regt – was deployed in and around Vassilinovo. Their mission was to secure the railway line connecting Odessa to Kherson via Berezivka and Nikolaev.

The first engagement in this sector broke out on 7 March 1919, when a pro-Bolshevik infantry force, supported by artillery, launched an attack against the left flank of Vassilinovo's Allied garrison. Although the assault was repelled, the decision was taken on 11 March to transfer the entire Entente force by rail to Berezivka, which could be more easily defended against attack thanks to the higher ground surrounding its rail station. The force transferred to Berezivka first came under attack on 17 March; pressure increased the following day, when the defenders were heavily shelled by Grigoriev's armoured trains. Within 24 hours from the outbreak of fighting the decision was taken to evacuate the Allied garrison from Berezivka, where it was badly overstretched on an 8-km (5-mile) perimeter, and where some French elements were proving unreliable. The defenders' evacuation to Serbka was hastily accomplished, by train and under constant fire. The Greek battalion had lost 144 dead (of which 9 officers), and had to leave most of its equipment and stores behind.

Under overall command of Gen Nérel of the French 30th Inf Div, between 19 and 26 March a new line was established connecting Serbka to Kapitanivka. This was held by two battalions from the Greek 5/42 Evzoni Regt and elements of 3rd Inf Rgt; one Greek mountain artillery battalion and one French field battery; and two cavalry platoons, one French and one Romanian. These had the support of a White Russian infantry brigade with a heavy artillery section. The purpose of this line was to halt the enemy's advance from the north towards Odessa; its utility was questionable, however, since the fall of both Kherson and Nikolaev also exposed that city from the east.

Entente order of battle, Odessa front, 1 April 1919

- 1st & 2nd Bns, Greek 5/ 42 Evzoni Regt (north of Buyalik rail station), supported by Greek mountain artillery battalion and French artillery battery
- 3rd Bn, Greek 3rd Infantry Regt (east of Buyalik)
- 2nd Bn, Greek 3rd Inf Regt (in reserve, at Buyalik rail station)
- 1st Bn, Greek 3rd Inf Regt (in reserve, at Rienza rail station)
- 1st Bn, Greek 34th Inf Regt (at Kremydivka, covering Gen Nérel's HQ)
- 3rd Bn, Greek 5/42 Evzoni Regt (in reserve, at Pavlynka)
- White Russian brigade (along Kapitanivka–Alexandrovska line, east of Buyalik)

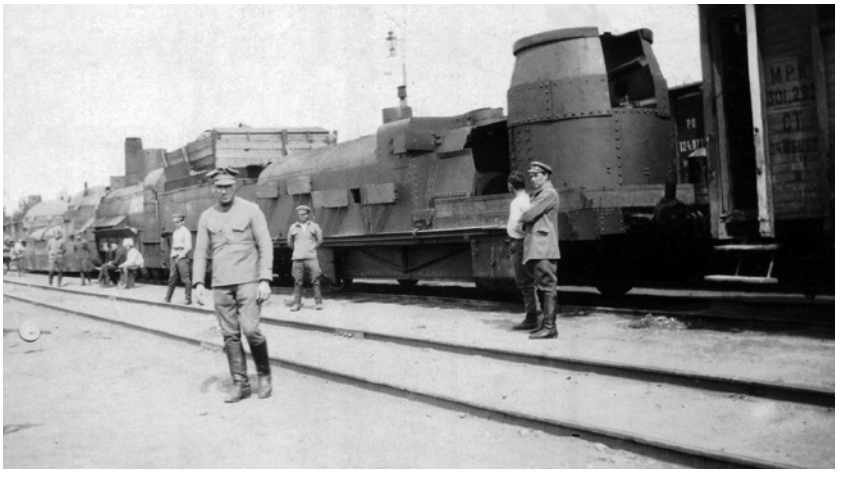
Collapse of Odessa 'front', and evacuation

On 2 April 1919, the pro-Bolshevik forces launched an all-out attack against the Kapitanivka–Buyalik sector of the Allied line. Under heavy pressure, which damaged the cohesion of his force, and faced by the prospect of its encirclement by Grigoriev's army, Gen Nérel pulled it back to a new line of defence connecting Buyalik in the north to the town of Kubanka to the south, barely 30km (18 miles) north of Odessa. During this retreat, 3rd Bn of 5/42 Evzoni Regt, based at Pavlynka, was cut off and threatened with annihilation, before breaking out under the cover of darkness.

With the new Allied line of defence close to the Black Sea coast (between the town of Kremydivka and the village of Grigoryevka), on 5 April the Bolsheviks launched a new general offensive. This was temporarily held back by LtCol Kondylis's Greek 3rd Inf Regt, before the collapse of the final blocking position before Odessa, defended by the Greek 7th Infantry Regiment. The military evacuation of Odessa was already under way, and was completed on 6 April. Odessa's garrison withdrew to the right (west) bank of the Dniester river, between Bender and Akkerman. There the Entente troops took up defensive positions, alongside Romanian and Polish forces, against a possible incursion by the Bolsheviks into Bessarabia (present day Moldova). In the event, apart from some skirmishing the Bolsheviks halted their advance after reaching the east bank of the Dniester.

CRIMEA

The French had originally landed in and occupied Sevastopol in late December 1918, with the support of the pro-White regional government of Crimea, before gradually fanning out to other locations. However,



The ex-Tsarist armoured train BP No.4, now renamed *Orlik* by the Czech Legion, which captured it from the Red Army in Siberia in July 1918. The absence of good all-weather roads in great parts of Russia made armoured trains a crucial asset throughout the Civil War. They provided armies – including Grigoriev's pro-Bolshevik Ukrainians – with mobile fire-support platforms, which could also carry some infantry and cavalry for scouting and raiding. Being prized captures, they often had long and varied careers during which component wagons might be added or deleted. In front of the armoured locomotive (left), *Orlik* incorporated a large armoured wagon named *Zaamurets,* with two 57mm gun turrets. At various times this train was also used by German and Ukrainian nationalist forces; see Osprey New Vanguard series 140, *Armored Trains*. (Author's collection)

no more than 2,000 French troops were deployed across Crimea, with the limited task of maintaining order in its two main urban centres: Simferopol, the administrative capital, and the port of Sevastopol, its largest city.

The only military operation in Crimea during the first three months of 1919 was a pro-Bolshevik revolt in Eupatoria (Yevpatoriya) in January, which was swiftly suppressed by the resident White forces. However, large parts of the peninsula were in a state of anarchic revolutionary upheaval, which the regional government was unable to check. On 24 March 1919, shortly before the evacuation of Odessa at the end of hostilities in mainland Ukraine, the Greek 2nd Inf Regt (XIII Div) landed in Sevastopol to support the White forces *in situ* (mainly the 4th & 5th Russian Volunteer Divs) in their defence of the Perekop isthmus in anticipation of a Bolshevik incursion from the north.

Grigoriev's troops forced their way down the isthmus in early April, pushing back its White defenders. Following the collapse of this line of defence the 2nd Inf Regt attempted to hold the pro-Bolshevik forces back, by engaging them first at Yusun 25km (15 miles) south of Perekop, and then at Eskiköy-Zama, the same distance again to the south-east. When it became clear that Grigoriev's advance could not be checked, what remained of the Greek force fell back to defend Sevastopol with French naval support; for their part, the White forces fell back to Theodosia (Feodosia).

A Greek naval rating photographed on the deck of HRN *Kilkis*, a battleship committed to the Entente's Black Sea operations during the Southern Russia campaign. Wearing British-style 'summer whites', he is turned out for landing-party or sentry duty, with a 6.5mm Mannlicher-Schönauer M1903/14 rifle and bayonet and basic M1895 three-pouch leather equipment. Up until the Allied forces' evacuation, both the French and Greek navies contributed to the security of Odessa and Sevastopol by deploying naval landing parties. (ELIA/ MIET Photographic Archive)

Pro-Bolshevik troops reached the outskirts of Sevastopol on 14 April 1919, and attacked the following day; the assault continued on 16 April, with significant armed support from pro-Bolshevik inhabitants of the city. The attack was temporarily thwarted thanks to the fire-support of French and Greek warships in the port, which contributed to the conclusion of a ten-day truce on 17 April. During the truce – which also saw the outbreak of a mutiny aboard the French naval squadron – the Allies accepted the inevitability of evacuating their forces from Sevastopol. During 21–28 April they shipped all their personnel and as much of their matériel as possible to the Ottoman capital of Constantinople (that city and its surroundings being occupied at the time by some 50,000 French, British and Greek troops). The remnants of the White forces retreated eastwards towards the Kerch peninsula, with many civilians being evacuated by sea to Novorossiysk. The evacuation of Sevastopol marked the official end of direct Allied military involvement in Southern Russia.

NAVAL OPERATIONS

For most of World War I, the Black Sea had been the theatre of medium-intensity naval operations between the Imperial Russian Black Sea Fleet and units of the Ottoman and Imperial German navies. The latter launched raids against ports in Southern

Russia and on their sea lanes, while the former sought both to interdict those raids, and to disrupt the strategically important Ottoman shipping of coal along the northern coast of Anatolia.

Russia's Black Sea Fleet survived practically unscathed until the spring of 1918, when Imperial German ground forces appeared in Ukraine and Crimea to enforce the terms of the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk. With former Imperial Russian warships, the Germans created a Ukrainian navy for the Hetmanate, first at Odessa and then at Sevastopol, which operated under German control until the Armistice of November 1918. Following Ottoman Turkey's capitulation, the Entente (including France and Greece) sent naval forces first to Constantinople, to secure the Bosphorus, and then to Odessa and Sevastopol, to protect both ports from the Bolsheviks and to secure former Imperial Russian naval assets.

At the start of the Southern Russia campaign, the Entente handed over to the Whites most of the few former Imperial vessels that remained serviceable. The Whites deployed some of these out of the naval base at Novorossiysk, while the less seaworthy remained at anchor mostly in Odessa and Sevastopol. The White fleet moved back to Sevastopol after the Entente's withdrawal, but by 1920 most of its ships had fled across the Black and Mediterranean seas to take refuge in Bizerta in the French protectorate of Tunisia, so very few fell into Bolshevik hands.

Both the French Marine Nationale and the Hellenic (Greek) Royal Navy had a significant naval presence in the Black Sea throughout the Southern Russia campaign, providing both transport and gunfire support. Their contribution was crucial, especially in the defence and evacuation of Kherson, Odessa, and finally Sevastopol. Under the overall command of Adm Lejay, several French capital units of the 2nd Squadron, 1st Naval Army participated in the campaign, notably the 'dreadnoughts' *France* and *Jean-Bart* and the 'semi-dreadnoughts' *Justice*, *Mirabeau* and *Vergniaud*, together with a number of smaller vessels. The HRN also deployed several of its units on a rotating basis, operating out of Constantinople and Nicomedia (present-day İzmit): the *Mississippi*-class 'pre-dreadnoughts' *Kilkis* and *Lemnos* were supported by the *Leon*-class destroyers *Panther* and *Keravnos*, the hospital ship *Amphitriti* and the troop-carrier *Kanaris*.

French naval mutiny

Over 19–22 April 1919 a full-blown mutiny broke out aboard several vessels of the French Navy squadron at anchor in Sevastopol. Some of the mutineers took part in popular pro-Bolshevik demonstrations ashore, and elements of the Greek 2nd Inf Regt were hastily dispatched to disperse these. (On 21 April four vessels of the British Royal Navy, under the command of Adm Calthorpe, also arrived in Sevastopol in case help should be needed to restore order.) The mutiny came too late to have an effect on the outcome of an already failed campaign, but it was indicative of the low morale of the personnel committed to it and of its unpopularity in the ranks. The role of Bolshevik agitation cannot be discounted, since the existence of pro-Bolshevik elements within the French armed forces was well documented; however, such episodes probably spoke louder of simple war-fatigue.

A French soldier of the 31st Inf Regt, in four-pocket officer-quality horizon-blue service dress, on board a vessel moored at Thessaloniki (Salonika), Greece, in late 1918. The large tripod camera presumably identifies him as a specialist of the French Army's Photographic and Cinematographic Service attached to the French Army of the East at the time of the intervention. (Author's collection)

THE ARMIES:

FRENCH FORCES IN SOUTHERN RUSSIA

Organization

In November 1918, on the eve of the French intervention in Ukraine and Crimea, the French Army was a massively powerful war machine with 3 million men under arms. At its peak, the French Army of the East (l'Armée de l'Orient) in the Balkans, from which most of the units committed to the Southern Russia campaign were drawn, numbered some 230,000 men of both Metropolitan and Colonial units. However, this Army had wide-ranging responsibilities and missions, and only a small fraction of its strength (perhaps 12,000 men in total – only about half the Greek Army's contribution) were committed to the expedition, in infantry battalions fielding on average only 600 men.

Character

As important as the small size of this expeditionary force was the fact that at the time of the intervention the French Army as a whole was in the process of demobilization. A proportion of units had already been disbanded or amalgamated; most French troops were impatient to be released, and both these factors had damaging effects on unit cohesion and morale. Although the force as a whole maintained its discipline and avoided a rout, some French units involved in the campaign failed to distinguish themselves.

Kherson, Vassilinovo, Berezivka and Nikolaev all fell into enemy hands relatively quickly and at a low cost in French casualties, but at a higher cost in abandoned matériel, including a number of artillery pieces and Renault tanks. Like the Army as a whole, the units – at the end of a long and hideously bloody world war – suffered from a lack of experienced NCOs to lead their tactical sub-units (in 1917–18 each platoon required three sergeants and four corporals). This weakness also contributed to episodes of insubordination among men who were impatient for demobilization. For instance, in early February 1919 the 58th Inf Regt, tasked with the occupation of Tiraspol in Bessarabia, refused to go into action, as did the 176th Inf Regt in early March; and in early April a detachment of the 7th Eng Regt in Odessa mutinied, actually handing over weapons, munitions and vehicles to pro-Bolshevik workers.

French Army formations & units in Southern Russia

GOC: General Henri Berthelot; (from March 1919) General Philippe d'Anselme
156th Infantry Division (General Borius):
- 175th & 176th Infantry Regiments
- 1st Africa Marching Regt (1er RM d'A):
  Bns C & E, 4th Zouaves
  Bn, 3rd Zouaves
  Marching Bn of the East (BM d'O)
- elements 2nd Mountain Artillery Regt (2e RAM), 242nd & 19th Colonial Arty Regts (242e & 19e RAC)

(part) 30th Infantry Division (General Nérel):
- *58th Infantry Bde:* 40th, 58th & 61st Inf Regts (40e, 58e & 61er RI)
- elements 19th Field Arty Regt (19e RA de C)
- detachment 7th Engineer Regt (7e RG)

16th Colonial Infantry Division (General Dessort):
- *4th Colonial Inf Bde:* 4th & 8th Colonial Inf Regts (4e & 8e RIC)
- *32nd Colonial Inf Bde:* 37th & 38th Colonial Inf Regts (37e & 38e RIC)
- 10th Algerian Rifles Regt (10e RTA)
- 129th Senegalese Rifles Bn (129e BTS)
- Bn of Indochinese Chasseurs (BCI - light infantry)
- 4th Africa Light Horse Regt (4e RC d'A – 4x 60-man sqns)
- 504th Aviation Squadron

Note: For the French Army of the East in 1918, see also MAA 356, *Armies in the Balkans 1914–18.*

Uniforms and equipment The expeditionary force wore the same regulation M1914/15 uniforms and M1915/16 personal equipment as the Metropolitan and Colonial units of the French Army as a whole (see commentaries to Plates A & B on pages 39–42).

Weapon distribution The standard personal weapon was the 8mm Berthier M1907/15 rifle, or the M1892 carbine for mounted troops and machine-gunners. Until October 1918, each nominally 194-man rifle company (three per battalion) had three platoons *(sections);* each was led by a lieutenant or warrant officer plus a sergeant, and had a 'square' structure, being divided into two 14-man *demi-sections* each led by a sergeant and each including one 8mm M1915 CSRG 'automatic rifle' or light machine-gun with a three-man team. (The CSRG 'Chauchat', hastily introduced in March 1916, had a poor reputation for both manufacturing quality and reliability.) Each of these 'half-platoons' comprised two seven-man *escouades* led by corporals; the riflemen *(grenadiers-voltigeurs)* were usually generously supplied with hand-grenades, and two out of every six were supposed to be specialist 'throwers'. In October 1918 the company establishment was officially reduced to 175 men and became 'triangular', with three platoons each comprising three

This Colonial Troops sergeant, probably a veteran of Southern Russia photographed in 1919, wears an odd combination of uniform. The Colonial service (designated Naval Troops until 1900) is identified by its anchor badge on his pre-war midnight-blue képi, which shows the gold distinctions of his rank. Instead of the regulation M1914/15 khaki tunic, his jacket seems to be cut down from an M1877 greatcoat, but made in either khaki or perhaps in the light horizon-blue ordered late in 1914; note the new seam around the body at hip level, and the retained buttons and loops for the greatcoat's roll-up shoulder straps. He wears it with (presumably mustard-khaki?) breeches, and knee-length brown leather gaiters. These might suggest a Colonial artilleryman, but his gold regimental collar number is '4'; the *fourragére* lanyard in the colours of the Croix de Guerre was awarded to the 4e RIC, for a second citation in the Balkans in September 1918, but never to the Tonkin-based 4e RAC. The yellow branch-colour of the *'marsouins'* prints as black in many World War I photos; note the rear pipings of the April 1915 collar-patches, and the backing of his gold sleeve-stripe of rank. His personal decorations are the Croix de Guerre (with bronze star for regimental citation) and the ribbon of the wound badge; the single inverted chevron on his upper right sleeve confirms his wound, and those on his left sleeve mark at least two years' front-line service. The 4e RIC served with the Army of the East, in 16th Colonial Inf Div from November 1916 to June 1919; withdrawn from Odessa to Bender in Romania, it clashed on the border with Bolshevik troops in May. (Author's collection)

A poor-quality but rare photo taken in front of St Alexius Church in Odessa: surrounded by some of their White Russian allies, soldiers of a French tank company pose with two Renault FT-17s mounting the 37mm Puteaux cannon. The French 'special artillerymen' wear black wool berets, black leather jackets or horizon-blue greatcoats, distinguishing them from the Russians wearing *papakha* fleece caps or visored caps. The French deployed only a handful of tanks during the campaign, of which five were captured. (Wikimedia Commons – source unknown).

12-man *groupes,* each of which included one LMG team. To what extent this change had been applied in the expeditionary units is impossible to know.

The battalion also had a fourth, machine-gun company, with 12x 8mm M1914 Hotchkiss. These air-cooled guns were generally reliable, but suffered both from the height of their tripod mount, and from being fed with 24-round metal strips, which slowed sustained firing in comparison with the Russian belt-fed Maxims. The company had four three-gun sections each led by a sergeant; each four-man gun crew was led by a corporal, and backed up by a number of *pourvoyeurs* (ammunition-carriers).

Lieutenant-General Constantine Nider (foreground), commander of the Greek 'A' Army Corps, photographed with his chief of staff, Col Theodoros Pangalos, on the Macedonian front during World War I. Nider joined his troops in Russia in March 1919, after the repatriation of Col Rebellos, acting commander of the GECSR. His account of operations in Ukraine and Crimea is amongst the most comprehensive works available on the Southern Russia campaign. Compare his uniform with Plate C3. (Wikimedia – source unknown)

GREEK EXPEDITIONARY CORPS

Organization

In late 1912, during the First Balkan War (see MAA 466, *Armies of the Balkan Wars 1912–13*), the Greek Army and Navy had achieved remarkable feats against the Ottoman forces. Within barely two months, the army had advanced 600km (370 miles), crossing three major rivers, and winning 30 battles and lesser engagements; it took 45,000 prisoners, and captured some 120 guns and 75,000 rifles. Meanwhile the HRN swept aside the Ottoman fleet, and imposed a war-winning naval blockade.

During World War I the country was torn by deep political divisions, between the neutralist King Constantine I (who was married to a sister of the Kaiser), and Prime Minister Venizelos, a staunch supporter of the Entente. The consequent 'national schism' prevented Greece's entry into the World War until Constantine's abdication in June 1917.

Between the outbreak of World War I and the end of the Greco–Turkish War in 1922, the Greek Army fielded 42 infantry regiments (of which 5 were Evzoni and 3 were Cretan). Each three regiments, plus a mountain artillery battalion, made up one of 14 numbered divisions. Three divisions – plus a regiment each of cavalry, field artillery and engineers, and transport and medical units – made up an army corps,

FAR LEFT
Joint studio portrait of Cols Gonatas (left) and Plastiras (right, and see Plate C1), taken in 1922. Plastiras distinguished himself in command of the 5/42 Evzoni Regt during the Southern Russia campaign; Gonatas carried out important logistic duties for the GECSR in Bessarabia and eastern Romania following its withdrawal from Russia. Both officers would play prominent roles in Greek politics following Greece's defeat in Asia Minor in 1922 at the hands of Mustafa Kemal's Turkish Nationalist Army. (ELIA/MIET Photographic Archive)

LEFT
Undated portrait of a Greek Army second lieutenant *(anthypolochagòs)* of artillery, in the officers' khaki uniform with 1915/16 modifications as worn during and after World War 1 (see Plate C2). Note silver crown subaltern officers' badge above the gold-edged blue-and-white national cockade on his M1916 *képi*, and the single dark brown braid rank stripe encircling its crown at the top of the band. The officers' buttoned collar tabs are artillery-black, as is also the base of his shoulder straps; the latter have the subaltern officers' single central gold braid stripe, bearing one six-point silver rank star. There are two small buttons at the rear of his false cuffs, which are shaped to a shallow point. All the gilt buttons are plain at this date, without branch symbols. The button-colour of the cavalry and commissariat branches was silver. (Author's collection)

lettered 'A' to 'E'. Regiments comprised three battalions each, and a battalion had three rifle companies and one of artillery.

The Greek Expeditionary Corps in Southern Russia (GECSR), which at its peak reached 23,551 men, consisted of II and XIII Divs from 'A' Army Corps, under the command of LtGen Constantine Nider (although he only joined it on 26 March 1919, coinciding with the repatriation of the former acting commander, Col Rebellos). The transfer of Greek forces from Eastern Macedonia to Ukraine began on 2 January 1919; the first troops reached Odessa on 7 January, and thereafter they continued to trickle into Ukraine until shortly before the end of the campaign. I Division, also part of ' A' Army Corps, remained in Kavala, Greece, awaiting orders, but was never committed to the Russian expedition.

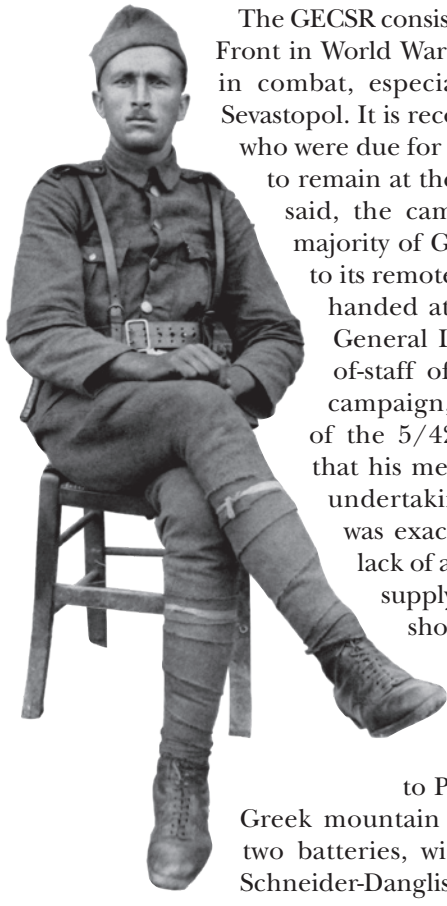
Composition of GEFSR

Acting GOC: Col Tsolakopoulos Rebellos; GOC (from 26 March 1919) LtGen Constantine Nider
II Division (General Nikolaos Vlachopoulos)
- 1st, 7th & 34th Infantry Regiments; IIa & IIb Mountain Artillery Battalions; 5th & 6th Engineer Companies

XIII Divsion (General Iacovos Negrepontis)
- 2nd & 3rd Inf Regts, 5/42 Evzoni Regt; XIIIa & XIIIb Mtn Arty Bns
- Support elements including medical units, telegraphist detachment, and several car companies
- 534th Hellenic Aviation Sqn, but minus its aircraft (Breguets & SPADs)

Character

At the instructions of the French high command, and much to the discontent of their own COs, Greek Army units were only committed piecemeal and mostly under French formation command, with an inevitable impact on their efficiency and performance. It is telling that by early February 1919 the 34th Inf Regt was dispersed for deployment: its 1st and 2nd Bns were sent to Kherson and Vassilinovo respectively, while its 3rd Bn and staff remained in Odessa. The distances between these three locations varied from 120km to 200km (75–125 miles).



Greek Army sergeant photographed in November 1918, wearing the khaki enlisted men's uniform as modernized in August 1915; this change deleted the former branch-colour shoulder straps and piping, and substituted buttonless coloured collar tabs (often absent in photos, as here). The M1917 forage cap, resembling the French *bonnet de police,* was issued in January 1918; again , note the absence of the regulation cloth frontal badge of a white-crowned cockade. The five front tunic buttons might be made of bone or metal, and the plain cuffs lacked buttons; for the skirt pockets, see photo on page 42. The double 20mm rank stripes just visible below his elbows are in a mid-tone, so possibly in the orange braid of the artillery. He wears the M1908 belt and Y-straps without pouches, a martial style for walking-out uniform popular among both officers and NCOs. (Author's collection)

The GECSR consisted of veterans of the Macedonian Front in World War I, who acquitted themselves well in combat, especially at Kherson, Berezivka and Sevastopol. It is recorded that the 104 Greek soldiers who were due for repatriation in March 1919 chose to remain at the front with their comrades. That said, the campaign was unpopular with the majority of Greek officers and men, due both to its remoteness from home and to the high-handed attitude of the French command. General Leonidas Paraskevopoulos, chief-of-staff of the Greek Army, opposed the campaign, while LtCol Nikolaos Plastiras of the 5/42 Evzoni stated in his memoirs that his men perceived it as an 'adventurist undertaking'. The GECSR's predicament was exacerbated by the intense cold; the lack of adequate transport; the unreliable supply system (which led to hunger and shortages of ammunition); and by the hostility of the local population.

Uniforms, personal equipment and weapons are covered in the commentaries to Plates C & D on pages 42–44. The Greek mountain artillery battalions each fielded two batteries, with 75mm Schneider-Creusot or Schneider-Danglis guns.

Two Evzoni, armed with captured Ottoman 7.65mm Mauser M1893 rifles and bayonets; the French-type M1915 ammunition pouches date the photo to between 1917 and 1922. Recruited from rural parts of central Greece, these highland units had a proven reputation for physical endurance and perseverance in action, which the 5/42 Evzoni would confirm in Ukraine in 1919. Their distinctive uniform was a variation of the traditional national costume – see commentary to Plate D1 on page 43. (Author's collection)

DENIKIN'S VOLUNTEER ARMY

Organization

In a book of this size it is obviously impossible to describe adequately a force as large and diverse as Denikin's Volunteer Army (or, as it officially became in January 1919, the Armed Forces of Southern Russia). At the time of the Allied intervention the entire Volunteer Army is reported to have consisted of 56 battalions, divided among 4 infantry divisions and 3 Cossack infantry brigades, plus 360 cavalry squadrons divided between 6 cavalry divisions.

However, estimates of its actual field strength vary widely, many being based on inflated figures fed to the Allies by Denikin's staff

rather than on first-hand observation. According to Gen Poole, head of a British mission in January 1919, Denikin commanded an army of 130,000, expected 'soon' to grow to between 200,000 and 250,000. By contrast, Capt Berthelot's February report to the French command estimated its total strength at no more than '50,000 casually dressed men armed with 83 [artillery pieces], of which only half were in working condition'.

Crucially, in February 1919 Volunteer Army troops (commanded by Gen Schwartz) in the Entente's area of operations numbered barely 5,000. A French ban on further mobilization in this area, and on the transfer to Odessa of troops from the Kuban, ensured that the Volunteers' presence on the ground in the Allied sector remained thin throughout the campaign. In interpreting the accompanying panel, note that the Russian term *'divizion'* meant a half-regiment.

Volunteer Army forces identified in Ukraine & Crimea, January 1919

Russian Volunteers Bde, with up to 2,000 men (mostly officers), based in Odessa under command of GenTsimanovsky
Russian Volunteer Army, perhaps of up to 3,000 men, spread thinly from the lower Dnieper river to Mariopol on the Sea of Azov, operating under command of Gen Borovsky. This consisted of:
- General Schelling's 4th Russian Volunteers Div
- Gen Pilovski's 5th Russian Volunteers Div (each of these had no more than 700 infantry, plus small artillery and cavalry contingents – divisional total not exceeding 1,000 men)
- Col Slasov's Volunteer Cavalry detachment, of approx 200 men
- German Volunteers Bn, of approx 200 local *Volksdeutsche* (of German origin), supported by a cavalry squadron and an artillery battery (total not exceeding 300 men)
- Crimean Tatar Co, of 60–80 men.

Note: See also MAA 305, *The Russian Civil War (2): White Armies*.

Character

Although Denikin's Volunteer Army was led by Imperial Army veterans, not all were reactionaries who wished to restore the unreformed monarchy. However, its composition had an impact on its quality, and both varied greatly: from small but highly-motivated units, mostly composed of former Tsarist officers and cadets now serving as rankers, to more numerous but low-quality formations of paid peasants conscripted for Denikin's summer 1919 campaign. The forces present in the area under French control between December 1918 and April 1919 belonged to the first category, but despite this they never managed to win the respect of the Allies.

This was particularly true of the French, but Chaplain Fostinis of the Greek 34th Inf Regt also wrote that many of the Volunteers were either unmotivated or morally decadent, inspiring little confidence and respect among either the Allies or their own countrymen. In fact, however, neither this opinion, nor the French command's low assessment of the Volunteer Army's combat potential, are corroborated by its subsequent fighting record in summer 1919 (see above 'Chronology: Aftermath'). This discrepancy may be explained to some extent by the Allies' concern to shift the blame for their failure on to the Whites.

Tactically, the Volunteer Army suffered from most of the Imperial Russian Army's shortcomings. Having been defeated in set-piece campaigns by the Central Powers, its general officers seemed unable to adjust their doctrine to the demands of the more fluid operations of the Civil War. Tsarist tactical

Portrait of a White army warrant officer; the lengthways stripe on the *pogoni* was the Imperial rank insignia of *pod-praporshchik*. Despite the absence of a Romanov cap cockade, his identity as a White soldier is confirmed by the Cross of St George 4th Class, suspended from its black-and-orange striped ribbon. This, Imperial Russia's highest exclusively military order, was abolished by the Bolsheviks in 1917, only to be reinstated by the Russian Federation as recently as 1992. (Author's collection).

Horsed cavalry played a major role on both sides during the Russian Civil War, being employed for scouting, outflanking, raiding, and even frontal attacks – though they naturally suffered badly when they encountered well-served MGs and artillery. This parading troop photographed in the Donbass region of Ukraine in 1919 served with to the so-called 'Don Army', an actual or nominally Cossack force subordinated to Denikin's Armed Forces of Southern Russia during his successful campaign that summer. By the end of 1919 cavalry formed 9 of the Don Army's eventual 15 divisions; this force was eventually defeated by the Red Army in the Northern Caucasus in January–February 1920. (Author's collection)

doctrine might be summarized crudely as follows: repeated mass infantry attacks, mostly against strongpoints; the generally ineffective use of artillery in support of infantry (according to the British Gen Greenly, who had first-hand experience of the Civil War, the artillery fire of White and Red armies alike 'was so scant, it is practically useless'); the extensive use of conventional cavalry, some armed with sabres and lances, even in the face of machine-gun and artillery fire; and the widespread but haphazard use of machine guns, leading to a massive wastage of ammunition, which exacerbated the failures of an inadequate supply system.

Uniforms, personal equipment and weapons are covered in the commentaries to Plates E, G & H on pages 44–47; these apply generally, since both sides in the Russian Civil War were largely dependent on ex-Imperial stores.

In 1914 the Imperial Russian Army had boasted the highest ratio of machine-guns to troops of any major power (2.2 guns per 1,000 men, compared with the Germans' 1.3), and the Tsarist artillery had benefited from the excellent quality of their 76.2mm field gun. However, during World War I the Imperial government, and later Kerensky's republican regime, had struggled to provide adequate quantities of all weapons and equipment, leading to widespread and piecemeal imports. The same applied to both sides in the Civil War, which suffered from extremely *ad hoc* logistics.

One innovation of the Civil War was reportedly pioneered by Nestor Makhno's Ukrainian Anarchists, but later widely employed by both sides: the mounting of the water-cooled M1910 Maxim MG on a horse drawn cart (*tachanka)* for mobile fire support.

OTHER ALLIED FORCES

Polish

Poland, divided between Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1794, would not regain independent nationhood until 1918. During World War I some 300,000 Polish troops had been conscripted into, or had volunteered for, the Russian, Austro–Hungarian, German and French armies. (These 'legions' are identified in MAA 497, *Armies of the Russo–Polish War 1919–21*.) One understrength formation consisting of Polish former soldiers of the Tsarist army – the 4th Rifle Div *(4. Dywizja Strzelców Polskich)* – participated peripherally in the Southern Russia campaign on the side of the Whites and the Entente between October 1918 and June 1919.

These troops were largely drawn from the former II Polish Corps of the Imperial Russian Army (*II Korpus Polski w Rosji*), and commanded by Gen Lucjan Żeligowski. The order-of-battle is not entirely clear: two (or, according to other sources, three) rifle regiments, one cavalry brigade (or battalion), two artillery batteries, one engineer company and an aviation squadron , totalling 2,838 all ranks with 827 horses.

Between 13 and 20 December 1918, elements from the division were transferred to Ukraine to assist French and Greek troops in securing Odessa from Petliura's UNR forces. This expedition reportedly consisted of two rifle battalions, two cavalry squadrons and one artillery battery, totalling only some 900 all ranks. For the duration of the campaign these Poles would undertake mostly security tasks in and around Odessa and nearby Bilyayivka, as well as reconnaissance and screening (but not combat) missions. The bulk of the 4th Rifle Div meanwhile took up positions in Romania and Bessarabia, near Tiraspol on the Dniester river, in anticipation of a Bolshevik push towards the west. Following the Allied evacuation from Odessa, Żeligowski's men helped cover the retreat of Entente troops into Bessarabia, before the whole formation returned to Poland at the end of May 1919.

Romanian

Romania declared war on Austria–Hungary (only) in August 1916. Crushing defeats suffered at the hands of Bulgarian and German forces in 1916 and 1917 left half the country under enemy occupation, and the greatly weakened army demobilized under the harsh terms of the Focşani Armistice of December 1917. However, the successful Allied offensive on the Salonika (Thessaloniki) front in September 1918 allowed a partial remobilization, and the recovery of much territory.

Romania's priority was Transylvania, not Russia, and its contribution to the Southern Russia campaign was limited to one infantry regiment, a cavalry squadron, and a few guns and mortars. The presence of Allied

A group of Romanian Army officers and NCOs (including, standing, a captain flanked by two lieutenants) in late or post-World War I khaki tunics; at least four officers retain the pre-war black breeches. They pose for the camera with (left to right) an Austrian Schwarzlose water-cooled belt-fed heavy machine gun, a French CSRG 'Chauchat' LMG, and an air-cooled French M1907 St Etienne – note the rigid feed-strip held by the man at far right. (Author's collection).

forces along Romania's eastern borders helped secure Bessarabia from the risk of a Bolshevik invasion, allowing the Romanian Army to devote itself to securing Transylvania. Based on the contemporary account by LtCol Radu Rosetti, the order of battle of the Romanian forces in Bessarabia and Bukovina – the areas adjacent to the Ukrainian front – at the time of the Entente intervention was as the accompanying panel.

Romanian Army order-of-battle, Eastern Border, December 1918– May 1919

First line: 10th Infantry Division, 4th Inf Div, 9th Inf Div;
(in Bessarabia) 2nd Cavalry Div; (in Bukovina) 8th Inf Div
Second line: (in Dorohoi–Botoşani area) 1st Vânători (Chasseurs) Div;
(in Iaşi–Sculeni area) 6th Inf Div; (in Huşi–Leova area) 5th Inf Div
Third line: (in Roman–Paşcani area) 7th Inf Div

Representative Polish and Romanian uniforms are illustrated as Plates F1& F3.

UKRAINIAN PRO-BOLSHEVIK FORCES

Organization

The distinction between 'Ukrainian pro-Bolshevik' and 'Soviet' forces is not historically clear-cut, and seems to have been dependant upon a fluid process for which we have few and unreconciled sources. Unavoidably, what follows is partly speculative.

In December 1918, the ex-Tsarist commander Ataman Grigoriev had captured Nikolaev from the Hetmanate in the name of the UNR's Directory. In sparse and often contradictory sources, his command has been variously identified as the Dniester Division or the Kherson Division. (Sources in different languages can also cause confusing mistranslations; the Russian term *divizion* meant a half-regiment. References to 'divisions' from unidentified sources might therefore refer to either a unit of battalion size with a few hundred men, or a formation of several thousand.) Grigoriev's command at some point supposedly had six infantry regiments, a cavalry regiment, an artillery battalion, and at least three armoured trains, probably totalling a maximum of 10,000–12,000 men – fewer than reported in some Western estimates.

Led by cavalry, Grigoriev's victorious troops enter Odessa in April 1919; most seem to wear Imperial Army greatcoats and *furashka* caps, but some have the sheepskin *papakha*. The Ataman's Ukrainian army was well manned, adequately equipped and capably led – thus the Allies' rapid eviction from Ukraine and Crimea. The Russian Red Army's part in this campaign, in pursuit of its continuing war against Denikin's Volunteer Army, was largely limited to occupying territory that Grigoriev had captured from the Entente. (Wikimedia Commons – source unknown)

Grigoriev was a competent commander, but his political volatility led him to change sides more than once. During January 1919 he temporarily made common cause with the Bolsheviks, and thereafter he fought the Allies with notable success in March–April. However, in May 1919, as the Red Army occupied ground he had captured, he renounced this alliance; he called for an anti-Bolshevik rising by Ukrainians against 'Jewish commissars', and carried out a bloody pogrom.

One Soviet mention of his command, which is not exactly dated, identifies it as the 1st Trans-Dnieper Rifle Bde, within the 6th Ukrainian Rifle Div (see below, under '3rd Ukrainian Soviet Army'). That division's 2nd and 3rd Bdes were reportedly commanded respectively by Pavel Dybenko (a formerly dismissed Ukrainian Bolshevik commissar, now re-appointed by Trotsky), and the Ukrainian Anarchist partisan leader Nestor Makhno. After changing sides for the second time Grigoriev argued for an alliance with Denikin's Volunteer Army, which was then enjoying some success against the Red Army. In July 1919 this led to his being shot dead during a meeting with Makhno and others.

Character

Accounts of the effectiveness of Grigoriev's force vary considerably. French officers were reportedly surprised by the steadiness and solid infantry skills of Grigoriev's troops, and by the qualities of their commanders: the attack on Kherson was conducted 'in line with the laws of modern warfare [and] under artillery cover'. They also praised the discipline that he enforced by severely punishing men who were caught pillaging. (However, with a degree of prejudice, the French theatre commander Gen Franchet d'Esperey suspected Grigoriev of relying on renegade German personnel to instruct and lead his units, and to operate the armoured trains which he deployed skilfully at Kherson and on the approaches to Nikolaev.)

We may wonder if French praise was motivated partly by a wish to justify the Entente's humiliating defeat at Grigoriev's hands, and Greek opinions were more nuanced. The CO of the Greek 3rd Inf Regt, LtCol Kondylis, reported that 'the organization and composition of [the pro-Bolshevik army] was imperfect. Although it is true that it possessed cavalry, artillery, armoured cars and armoured trains, it is equally true that it never managed to [use them] as effectively as an organized army would [have]. Its cavalry… failed to take advantage of our complete lack of cavalry… Its infantry lacked cohesion, was inadequately commanded… [and] in the attack did not use tactical formations, nor did it coordinate its advance with artillery fire, [which was] off target to a comical degree… [The infantry] dispersed as soon as they came under artillery fire, and it retreated as soon as our infantry came within 700 metres of its positions … [The pro-Bolsheviks] did not operate under cover of darkness, despite their knowledge of the terrain… Their temporary successes could never withstand a counterattack'.

However, the Allies concurred in the view that what Grigoriev's men lacked in tactical sophistication they made up for in dogged tenacity. Typically of an insurgent army, their essential tactic was one of attrition. Grigoriev rarely sought a decisive confrontation at any single point; instead, he would move his armoured trains, cavalry and infantry along the 'front', seeking to wear down the Allied troops by repeated attacks at different points, which spread confusion.

Early in the Civil War, a motley group of *krasnoarmeyetsi* – 'Red Army-ists' – pose for the camera. Uniform was not a priority in the RKKA's early years (indeed, at a first-anniversary celebration of the Revolution, Lenin himself compared the parading troops to 'sandbags.') The man seated left, apparently sporting a watch-chain between the pockets of his *gymnasterka*, could be an Imperial soldier except for the absence of the Romanov cap cockade. The youngster standing at far right wears the service-dress version of the double-breasted M1911 greatcoat, with a central row of purely decorative buttons. The central standing man has an Army-style *papakha* winter cap, while his comrade seated right has civilian clothes and a large Cossack fur hat. Visible weapons are M1891 Mosin-Nagant rifles, a Japanese Arisaka Type 30, and an M1907 Mosin-Nagant carbine (Author's collection)

RED ARMIES

Organization

The creation of the volunteer Workers' and Peasants' Red Army (RKKA) was announced by Lenin's Bolshevik government on 15 January 1918. It was formed alongside, and later superseded, the existing irregular Red Guard *(Krasnaya Gvardia)* units, with the mission of defending the still fragile Bolshevik regime against its White enemies and their foreign allies. In March 1918, Leon Trotsky was named as Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs; conscription was introduced from May, and from September overall command was exercised by the Revolutionary Military *Soviet* (Council) of the Republic, headed by Trotsky. Despite his energetic leadership, chaotic conditions and communications over huge geographical areas made the organization of a unified structure from the originally regional forces a lengthy, uneven and complex process, of which few details seem to be recorded.

Ukrainian

The 'Ukrainian Soviet Army' was formed on 20 November 1918, with 1st and 2nd Insurgent Divisions and several smaller elements. The following month, some 20,000 strong, it was fighting German, Austro-Hungarian and Ukrainian UNR forces in northern and eastern Ukraine. On 4 January 1919 the Ukrainian Soviet Army plus the RKKA's 9th Rifle Div and Border Guard units formed the RKKA's Ukrainian Front (army group). On 15 April 1919 the Front's components were designated, on paper, as follows:

1st Ukrainian Soviet Army

1st & 2nd Ukrainian Divs (ex-Insurgent Divs); 3rd Border Div; 1st Independent Cavalry Bde; Independent Bessarabian Bde. These would fight UNR Directory forces in Kiev. On 25 June 1919, redesignated as RKKA 12th Red Army, part of its Western Front.

2nd Ukrainian Soviet Army

Based on former Trans-Dnieper Div, and 2nd Independent, 3rd, and Crimea Bdes now forming 3rd & 7th Ukrainian Rifle Divs. Almost immediately, from 27 April 1919, transferred to form part of Southern Front; overran much of Crimea in May, fighting Denikin's Volunteer Army. On 4 June, incorporated into RKKA 14th Red Army, part of its Southern Front.

3rd Ukrainian Soviet Army

Formed from 5th & 6th Ukrainian Divs (April 1919), plus 1st Bessarbian and 1st Internationalist Divs (May); by late April, already controlled most of Ukraine east of the Dnieper river. In June 1919, incorporated into RKKA 12th Red Army, part of its Western Front.

(continued on page 33)

FRENCH EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (1)

1: Pte 1st Class, 176th Inf Regt, 156th Inf Div; Odessa, Dec 1918

2: Capt, 61st Inf Regt, 30th Inf Div; Feb 1919

3: Sgt, 129th Senegalese Rifles Bn, 16th Col Inf Div; March 1919

FRENCH EXPEDITIONARY CORPS (2)

1: 2nd Lt, 504th Sqn, *Aéronautique Militaire*; Odessa, Apr 1919

2: Rifle-grenadier, 10th Algerian Rifles, 16th Col Inf Div; Feb 1919

3: Quartermaster 2nd class, French Navy; Sevastopol, Apr 1919

GREEK EXPEDITIONARY CORPS (1)

1: LtCol Plastiras, 5/42 Evzoni Regt, XIII Div; Buyalik, Apr 1919
2: Lt, Mountain Artillery, II Div; Nikolaev, March 1919
3: Col, 34th Inf Regt, II Div; Vassilinovo, Feb 1919

GREEK EXPEDITIONARY CORPS (2)

1: Trumpeter, 5/42 Evzoni Regt; Kapitanivka, March 1919

2: Sgt, 3rd Inf Regt, XIII Div; Odessa, March 1919

3: Seaman stoker, HRN; Black Sea, March 1919

WHITE FORCES

1: Lt, Denikin's Volunteer Army; Odessa, Dec 1918

2: LtCol, Col Slasov's Volunteer Cavalry; Perekop, Apr 1919

3: Capt 1st Class, AFSR Navy; Sevastopol, March 1919

OTHER ALLIED GERMAN FORCES

1: Pte, Polish 4th Rifle Div; Odessa, Jan 1919
2: Pte, German 53rd Landwehr Inf Regt, 15th LW Div; Nikolaev, Feb 1919
3: Gunner, attached Romanian 4th Inf Regt; Tiraspol, Apr 1919

BOLSHEVIK FORCES (1)

1: Rifleman, 1st Bolshevik Vol Regt; Nikolaev, March 1919

2: Junior commander, Chervenskoye Cav Regt; Kherson, March 1919

3: Rifleman, 1st Ukrainian Soviet Army; Berezivka, March 1919

BOLSHEVIK FORCES (2)

1: Rifleman, 1st Ukrainian Soviet Army; Berezivka, March 1919
2: Rifleman, 2nd Ukrainian Soviet Army; Crimea, May 1919
3: Armed civilian; Boyena suburb, Kherson, March 1919

This Red Army group probably date from 1919; judging by the *shashka* sabres and the length of the greatcoats they belong to a mounted unit, and two wear pre-World War I coats with branch-colour patches on the piped collars. The man sitting at right wears, by contrast, a double-breasted leather jacket and leather cap, as worn by armoured car units. Three carry revolvers, including one tucked into the belt – a practice common in the RKKA pre-1922. (Author's collection)

Russian

Later sources may use the term 'Soviet' and standardized rifle regiment designations retrospectively, but it appears that neither usage was fully established before 1922. However, one source gives a list of RKKA formations active against Denikin's forces in Southern Russia, as in the accompanying panel. We are all too aware of the difficulty of reconciling these various sources.

RKKA formations reportedly active in Southern Russia, October 1918–April 1920

RKKA Army Divisions		Active
9th Red Army	14th Rifle Div	Oct 1918–April 1920
	16th Rifle Div	Oct 1918–May 1919
	23rd Rifle Div	Oct 1918–June 1920
	36th Rifle Div	April–June 1919
10th Red Army	1st Communist R. Div	Oct 1918–Jan 1919
	1st Kamyshinsk R. Div	Oct 1918–March 1919
	1st Steel Rifle Div	Oct 1918–Jan 1919
	32nd Rifle Div	March 1919–April 1920
	37th Rifle Div	Oct 1918–Feb 1920
	38th Rifle Div	Oct 1918–Feb 1920
13th Red Army	9th Rifle Div	Nov 1918–March 1920
	39th Rifle Div	March–Dec 1919
	41st Rifle Div	March–April 1919
	42nd Rifle Div	March 1919–Jan 1920
	Don Independent R. Div	March 1919

Character

By 1920, the Red Army had assembled, either by persuasion or force, no fewer than 3 million peasants in the areas under its control; it thus considerably outnumbered the White armies, which relied upon narrower segments of the population. The Bolshevik government had soon recognized that the radical 'puritanism' of its 1917–18 leadership structure – based on election by the revolutionary volunteers of men who were forbidden to wear distinguishing insignia, or even to carry

sidearms – was not conducive to military efficiency or accountability. Consequently, from the summer of 1918 the RKKA began to conscript, en masse, professional NCOs and officers of the former Imperial Army. While there were natural suspicions about their loyalty, the experience and technical expertise of these thousands of so-called 'specialists' were simply too valuable for the Soviets to renounce their employment. At the beginning of 1919 a hierarchical system of 'commanders' was introduced, designated by function, and distinguished by a sequence of insignia (see commentary to Plate G2).

To avert the risk of a revived professional officer corps reasserting itself, a unique precaution was adopted: Trotsky created an Institute of Political Commissars, and appointed its members to shadow the professional officers and 'second guess' their decisions, at every echelon of command down to company level. This obviously entailed a parallel risk to military efficiency and unit morale, but the Bolshevik government considered it worth taking.

In the early stages of the Civil War the tactical differences between the Red and White armies were not substantial. Both favoured mass infantry attacks, poorly prepared and inadequately supported by artillery; both deployed horsed cavalry extensively; and both demonstrated relatively poor fire discipline. Soldiers on both sides might behave viciously, but equally they might suffer from panic, breaking ranks under pressure. However, generally speaking, the Red Army was more receptive than the Whites to military innovations, and as the Civil War progressed it improved the exploitation of its stronger firepower.

A Red Army cavalryman wearing the M1909 long cavalry greatcoat; the absence of a badge from his cap, worn with the soft crown fashionably crushed, makes a date in 1917–18 probable. He carries an M1909 officers' sword, slung 'oriental style' with the cutting edge to the rear; a long decorated riding crop is just visible hanging down the front of the scabbard. An M1909 ammunition pouch on his M1911 belt suggests that he also normally carried a rifle. (Author's collection)

Uniforms, personal equipment and weapons are covered in the commentaries to Plates G & H, on pages 46–47.

GERMAN FORCES

Under the onerous terms of the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk concluded on 3 March 1918, Russia ceded Poland and the Tsarist Baltic provinces to Germany; Russian troops pulled out of Finland, Ukraine, Crimea and Transcaucasia; and the former Imperial Russian Army began to demobilize. A Ukrainian delegation signed a separate peace treaty with the Central Powers at Brest–Litovsk; this recognized Ukraine as an independent nation, worthy of German military assistance against 'Great Russian' incursions and the growing Bolshevik threat.

Despite their pledge to respect Ukrainian self-determination, the Bolsheviks attempted to carry their revolution into Ukraine, and the Central Powers deployed troops to protect it. Field Marshal von Eichhorn advanced as far as the Donetz Basin (Donbass) and Crimea in March–April 1918; Odessa, Kharkov and

Kiev were occupied and pacified, followed by Nikolaev, Kherson, Sevastopol, and Rostov-on-Don. To maintain order, Germany committed 16 (although mostly 'third-rate') infantry divisions; these included 10 Landwehr divisions and the 35th Reserve Div, and were supported by three cavalry divisions and service units. The German forces stationed in Ukraine and Crimea between October 1918 and the end of March 1919 formed part of Heeresgruppe Kiew (Army Group Kiev).

Under the terms of the November 1918 Armistice, these forces were to be disarmed and repatriated. A core part of the mission of the French-led intervention in Southern Russia was to monitor compliance with those terms and, simultaneously, to shield Ukraine from the second Bolshevik invasion to which the withdrawal of German forces would expose it. Although German troops did not resist the French-led intervention force, their attitude towards Entente troops was ambiguous, to the point of arousing Allied suspicions of possible connivance with the Bolsheviks. The German garrison in Nikolaev only reluctantly contributed to its defence against Grigoriev's impending attack, and French officers reported some fraternization between German troops and the pro-Bolshevik population, to whom they were later suspected of handing over weapons and munitions when they withdrew.

A studio portrait, dated 1919, of a Red Army *kommandir*; despite the absence of January 1919 regulation rank insignia, he is identifiable as such by the July 1918 Red Army membership badge on his left breast. Officially the 'Revolutionary Military Symbol of the Red Army', this was a red enamel star, bearing a gold hammer-and-plough, within a silver wreath. His tunic is a very dark example of the Russian officers' so-called 'French', with a stand-and-fall collar but four large patch pockets in British style. Judging by his spurred riding boots, and well-tailored breeches in a contrasting colour (dark blue, or hussar crimson?), this 'specialist' is serving with a cavalry unit. (Author's collection).

The legacy of the Germans' presence in Ukraine and Crimea was to outlast their brief military occupation. British officers attached to Denikin's Volunteer Army reported that Makhno's Ukrainian partisan forces were organized and deployed in ways reminiscent of the German *Sturmabteilungen* (assault units). A small number of German deserters and former POWs did join Makhno's forces, and a handful of German officers served on his staff.

In addition, up to 50,000 former German and Austro-Hungarian POWs are thought to have served in the Red Army. These men saw active service against both British forces in the Transcaspian and Ataman Semyonov's White army on the Manchurian frontier. German troops incorporated in pro-Bolshevik 'internationalist' units are also known to have undertaken internal security tasks, helping to suppress mutinies among Red Army units.

A representative **German uniform** is illustrated as Plate F2.

CONCLUSION

The collapse into a military fiasco of the French-led intervention in Ukraine and Crimea had a number of simultaneous causes. Obviously, the resources committed fell woefully short of those needed to occupy and pacify such a large territory. Of the 12 divisions originally promised

RIGHT
This pensive portrait has a bourgeois appearance, and the just-visible Red Army badge on the left breast of the unusual piped *gymnasterka* presumably identifies the subject as another 'specialist'. The status of these *komandiri* was ambiguous: while they bore the responsibilities of regular officers, they enjoyed few of their prerogatives, and always operated under the scrutiny of political commissars. (Author's collection)

FAR RIGHT
A German Army NCO poses for the camera. The black-and-white ribbon of the Iron Cross 2nd Class is attached between the second and third buttonholes of his greatcoat, with the cross itself attached alongside, suggesting that the photo was taken on the day of its award. (Author's collection)

to Denikin (out of the 18 that he had requested), the French would only field nominally three, but in reality about one-and-a-half. Together with the two Greek divisions (of three originally planned), these totalled some 35,000 troops in total.

Even these were committed only slowly, and piecemeal. More than a month after their capture of Odessa the French forces present in Ukraine barely exceeded 3,000 men. At Kherson, 750 Greek and 150 French troops (albeit supported by French Navy firepower) found themselves facing Grigoriev's division-size onslaught. At the time of his advance on Nikolaev its Allied garrison consisted of no more than a battalion-strength Greek contingent and two under-strength French companies – while the German units stationed in Nikolaev, and the attacking pro-Bolshevik forces, each exceeded 10,000 men.

The slow arrival of Allied forces is exemplified by the Greek IIa Mtn Arty Bn, which only landed in Odessa five days before the decision to prepare for evacuation. Similarly, Pte Karagiannis of the 3rd Inf Regt recalled that his company landed in Odessa on 27 February 1919, and was evacuated barely a month later, on 29 March.

Severe logistical shortages, and the poor weather conditions, also contributed to the failure of the intervention force. It had few motor vehicles and little fuel, and with the dirt roads in bad wintertime condition the Entente relied heavily on local rail transport. Since this was operated by Bolshevik sympathisers, it routinely took up to 48 hours for trains to cover distances of no more than 80km (50 miles).

Crucially, the French command had badly misjudged both the situation on the ground, and the fighting potential of their local allies. French and Greek first-hand accounts concur that both the numbers and the fighting value of Denikin's troops were limited, especially in Ukraine. By choosing to throw their weight behind Denikin in preference to the Ukrainian nationalists of the Directory led by Symon Petliura, the French became associated with Denikin's uncompromising drive for the restoration of

'Holy and Undivided Russia', at a time when Ukrainian nationalism was a powerful force.

The majority of the civilian population, both in Ukraine and Crimea, detested the old regime, and resented the Entente's intervention as a thinly-veiled attempt to restore it. The Allies' justified fear of popular insurrection in the urban centres under their nominal control weighed heavily on their decision to evacuate. In both Kherson and Sevastopol, troops reported attacks against them by armed civilians of both sexes and all ages. First-hand accounts suggest that the armed workers of Odessa, Nikolaev and Sevastopol coordinated their actions with the advancing pro-Bolshevik forces, contributing to their final success.

Consequences

The human cost of the campaign for the Entente was relatively low. The French are thought to have lost perhaps 200 men, of which only some 50 were battle casualties. Greek General Staff figures put GECSR casualties at 398 dead and missing and 657 wounded or injured. The price paid by the local Greek and Jewish civilian populations, especially in Ukraine, was higher in both absolute and relative terms: both communities suffered at the hands of the pro-Bolshevik forces, and many had to flee to escape persecution following the Entente's withdrawal.

The campaign's material price was far from insignificant, reputedly standing at 1.19 billion French francs (US $1.5 billion in modern terms), but perhaps the greatest cost was to Allied prestige. The French decisions to concede Odessa, and subsequently the Crimean peninsula shortly after the French Navy mutiny at Sevastopol, were humiliating.

Imperial German Army soldiers pose for the camera in Ukraine, shortly after the signature of the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk in March 1918; they wear a motley collection of fatigue and service clothing. This treaty gave Germany a free hand for eight months to pursue its expansionist ambitions in the East, while still allowing a major reinforcement of its Western Front at a time when the original Allies had all but exhausted their reserves, and the US Expeditionary Force was still consolidating. (Author's collection)

Undated group photo of convalescing late-war French troops in an assortment of horizon-blue Metropolitan and mustard-khaki Colonial uniforms (the latter appear darker here). Most are Metropolitan line infantrymen, but note (top row, right) a Zouave wearing a red *chéchia* and displaying a unit citation lanyard; (middle row, right) a Colonial Infantry NCO, wearing a midnight-blue *képi* and displaying the Médaille Militaire, the Croix de Guerre, and the ribbon bar of the wound badge; and (seated, second from left, with open tunic) a soldier of a mounted branch, probably artillery, with knee-length gaiters. Most wear tunics with regulation standing collars, some complete with December 1914 (yellow) or April 1915 (tunic-colour) horizontal collar patches with midnight-blue double pipings and unit numerals. Two have fall collars, one (middle row, fourth from right) with the diamond-shaped January 1917 patches normally worn on greatcoats. Another (seated, fourth from right) unusually still has an M1877/15 greatcoat, made in horizon-blue. (Author's collection)

It has been argued that the intervention helped to forestall a Soviet expansion westwards into Eastern and Central Europe before the various newly-established nation states there had consolidated. (The only successful Bolshevik revolution west of the Dniester was in Hungary, and this was suppressed by the Romanian military, whose capture of Budapest on 4 August 1919 sealed the fate of Béla Kun's Hungarian Soviet Republic.) Greece's involvement in the intervention may help to explain the Soviet decision, in March 1922, to provide Mustafa Kemal's army with military aid during the closing stages of the Greco–Turkish War, thus contributing to Greece's catastrophic defeat and to the creation of modern Turkey.

In the West, the Southern Russia campaign attracted relatively little attention, both because of its premature end, and because this was swiftly followed by more important events – particularly the conclusion, on 28 June 1919, of the Treaty of Versailles, which officially marked the end of World War I and reshaped Europe's political map for 20 years. In the USSR, however, the reaction to the Allied interventions was more marked and more lasting. The trauma of hostile foreign interference at a time of Soviet vulnerability, particularly in Ukraine, accounted to some extent for the chronic Soviet phobia of Western military incursion into its territory, and contributed to the perception amongst Soviet élites that an 'Eastern Bloc' was necessary as a buffer against the West. It thus helped to create the climate of distrust which was to culminate in the post-1945 Cold War.

FURTHER READING

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PLATE COMMENTARIES

Basic information on French Army uniforms of the period will be found in MAA 286, *The French Army 1914–18,* and on the Greek Army in MAA 501, *Armies of the Greek–Turkish War 1919–22.* The evolution of Red Army uniforms during the Civil War is described and illustrated in MAA 293, *The Russian Civil War (1): The Red Army,* and in MAA 497, *Armies of the Russo–Polish War 1919–21;* those of a wide range of White forces, including Denikin's, are covered in MAA 305, *The Russian Civil War (2): White Armies.* For lack of space here, readers are referred to those titles, to which the notes that follow are mostly complementary.

A: FRENCH EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (1)

A1: Private first class, 2nd Battalion, 176th Infantry Regiment, 156th Infantry Division; Odessa, December 1918

This soldier wears the 'horizon-blue' uniform ordered in autumn 1914 and issued from early 1915, with full marching order as he disembarks at the beginning of the campaign. Although he himself is a relatively recent replacement, the 176e RI had been with the Army of the East since the Dardenelles landings of spring 1915. His M1915 Adrian helmet shows the dark matte blue-grey finish adopted from July 1916. Over his tunic he wears, as was habitual, the M1915 double-breasted greatcoat, here with a single rolled shoulder-strap on the right to retain his rifle sling. His rank is indicated by one short midnight-blue diagonal stripe above each cuff. The diamond-shaped collar patches ordered on 10 January 1917 bear, in addition to the midnight-blue double top piping and regimental number, the battalion-coloured lower spot introduced (in blue, red and yellow respectively) by a regulation of July 1916.

Marching order adds a knapsack loaded with his messtin, rolled tent-canvas and blanket (and probably a bivouac tool or squad cooking vessel) to his basic belt equipment. On the *ceinturon modèle 1903 modifié 1915*, supported at front and rear by Y-straps *(bretelles de suspension 1892/1914*), two of his three *cartouchières modèle 1916* flank the two-prong belt buckle, the third being worn centrally at the back. His frogged bayonet scabbard hangs at his left side under the *musette* haversack, which contains his small kit, daily rations, and the horizon-blue *bonnet de police* sidecap worn when out of the line. A 2-litre water canteen with a tin mug is slung behind his right hip; once in the field he may acquire a second canteen and a second haversack for 'assault order'. (It is unclear whether the expeditionary force carried gasmasks; if so, they were presumably the 1916 *masque à gaz* M2 in its rectangular tin box, but some ARS17 masks in German-style fluted cylindrical canisters may have been carried by troops more recently arrived from France.)

A French field artilleryman poses rather awkwardly in the Metropolitan troops' horizon-blue service dress, ordered in autumn 1914 and worn from early in 1915. The five-button *vareuse* tunic has a standing collar (here lacking unit-numbered patches), and two interior skirt pockets with external flaps. The upwards-buttoned tab on the left side was supposed to support the belt, but most photos show it placed too high for this. The tunic is worn with the matching riding breeches and black leather knee-length gaiters *(houseaux)* issued to troops of the mounted branches. The Adrian helmet bears the combined crossed-cannons and 'RF'-grenade badge of this branch. Originally painted in a semi-gloss shade (called 'artillery grey', after the colour of the guns), it therefore required a cloth cover – or simply smearing with mud – to kill the reflections. From June 1916 a darker, bluer, matte finish was achieved through lengthier 'cooking' during the manufacturing process. Gunners were armed with a revolver, just visible here above the right hip. (Author's collection).

His weapon is the 8mm Berthier *fusil 1907/15;* originally designed for colonial troops, this was lighter, simpler and cheaper than the Lebel *fusil 1886/ 93,* but its accessories, including the *épée-baïonnette modèle 1886* with a 51cm cruciform 'needle' blade, were identical. However, unlike the 8-round capacity of the Lebel, the magazine originally held only 3 rounds, or 5 after a 1916 modification, loaded from stripper-clips. Too long for convenient handling in confined spaces, and prone to bending, the bayonet might be replaced for trench fighting with sharpened entrenching tools, improvised maces, trench knives, or revolvers.

A2: Captain, 61st Infantry Regiment, 30th Infantry Division; Odessa, February 1919

From 1915, officers' privately tailored uniforms resembled those of their men in colour but not in cut; they were of higher quality, and often varied quite widely in minor details. This company commander wears the officers' M1915 horizon-blue wool service uniform, but, for a degree of anonymity in battle, an enlisted man's plain second-pattern M1915 képi (the officers' smarter but otherwise almost identical M1915 *'képi manchon'* had a gold chinstrap and buttons). The tunic has a fall collar; two pleated patch breast pockets and two larger pleated skirt pockets (the former with pointed and the latter with straight buttoned flaps), and a single central rear vent. Matching-colour *culottes* semi-breeches are here confined by puttees (though some preferred knee-length leather gaiters), above laced ankle boots.

His regimental number is embroidered in officers' gold thread on collar patches with double gold piping on the upper edges. His rank is indicated by three gold lace bars, 35mm x 12mm, on patches sewn above both cuffs. The three 120mm x 12mm gold lace *chevrons de présence aux armées* on his upper left sleeve indicate 24 months' front-line service – one for the first year, and one for each six months thereafter. The 61e RI had been heavily engaged since 1914, including at Verdun, before sailing for Salonika in 1917. Similar chevrons worn on the upper right sleeve indicated wounds.

During World War I very many officers acquired copies of British 'Sam Browne' belts, integrating them with French equipment items, such as map and binocular cases, at personal choice. From 1915 the only sidearms carried in the field were revolvers or pistols, commonly this six-shot 8mm *revolver modèle 1892* carried in a *'jambon'* ('leg of ham') holster. Some use was also made – both by officers and by personnel such as machine-gunners, stretcher-bearers, drivers and signallers – of the old 11mm M1874 and the longer-barrelled enlisted-ranks' M1873; of the 7.65mm Ruby semi-automatic; and, from 1917, of the markedly improved 7.65mm Star pistol. This officer also carries a whistle, attached by a cord to the buttonhole of his left breast pocket.

A3: Sergeant, 129th Senegalese Rifles Battalion, 16th Colonial Infantry Division; evacuation of Odessa, March 1919

During World War I at least 200,000 volunteer West and Equatorial African *Tirailleurs Sénégalais* (literally 'Senegalese Skirmishers', but usually translated as 'Rifles') were mobilized, in approximately 150 separate numbered battalions (BTS), as part of France's Colonial Troops (the former Naval Troops – thus the retained anchor badge of this service). General Franchet d'Esperey, C-in-C of the French Army of the East in the Balkans, expressed reservations about the suitability of the Senegalese unit, in particular, for the cold conditions of Russia, but this, plus one North African and one Indochinese unit, were nevertheless committed – partly because they enlisted for four-year fixed terms rather than 'for the duration', so were not eligible for immediate demobilization following the Armistice. Although the 129e BTS was only formed in France in September 1918, the cross-posting of cadres for new units was routine, and his medals show this drafted-in sergeant to be a re-enlisted veteran of both a colonial

campaign and the Western Front. It was not unusual for West African troops to show ritual tribal scarring on their faces. In place of the horizon-blue of the Metropolitan army, this NCO wears a version of the M1914/15 'mustard-khaki' uniform first ordered in September 1914 for the Troupes Coloniale and Armée d'Afrique, later with yellow piping on the outseams of the *culottes.* Here the greatcoat is worn, as was habitual, with the skirts buttoned back. It hides the special double-breasted *paletot* jacket, with yellow braid trim to the large fall collar and the pointed cuffs, which was distinctive of the Senegalese. The collar patches of the BTS had double red edge-piping, and this sergeant displays a brass anchor instead of the rankers' yellow thread badge. His rank is also marked by a gold 35mm diagonal above the cuffs – those of more junior ranks were brown ('dark khaki'), as were their frontline-service and wound chevrons (though in many photos chevrons seem absent from greatcoat sleeves). For this parade the sergeant wears only belt equipment, including the Senegalese troops' regulation machete *(coupe-coupe)*. For Colonial units the Adrian helmet, bearing a combined 'RF'-grenade and anchor badge, was painted in browns ranging from sandy or earth-brown to olive or greyish-brown shades.

B: FRENCH EXPEDITIONARY CORPS (2)

B1: Second lieutenant, 504th Squadron, *Aéronautique Militaire*; Odessa, April 1919

It was originally intended to deploy three *escadrilles* from the Army of the East (504e Esc de Corps d'Armée, 507e Esc de Chasse and 510e Esc de Bombardement), but in the event only Maj Seuz's 504th was sent, with mixed equipment – 6 Breguet XIV reconnaissance-bombers and 3 SPAD (XIII?) fighters. Very little is known of its service; it arrived in late March or early April, too late to make a difference, and soon afterwards was evacuated by ship to Constanța, Romania, and thence to Constantinople. The *sous-lieutenant observateur* reconstructed here wears the horizon-blue M1915 tunic with a narrow M1893/15 officers' belt, and flying kit. The Military Aviation's collar badge of a gold -winged silver star on blue backing is sewn directly to his fall collar; his single gold rank stripe is positioned at the top of the turn-back cuffs; and he wears the September 1916 right breast badge of a qualified aerial observer. The flying helmet is the common *casque Roold*, worn with one of several types of goggles. His reversed sheepskin flying boots are thigh-length, attached and adjusted by straps, and he carries a black flying coat with a velveteen-lined collar. Gauntlet gloves were also worn.

B2: Rifle-grenadier, 1st Battalion, 10th Algerian Rifles Marching Regiment, 16th Colonial Infantry Division; Ukraine, February 1919

An estimated 190,000 volunteer North African troops of the Armée d'Afrique, from Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, fought for France during World War I. Algerian and Tunisian troops were mobilized together simply as undifferentiated *'tirailleurs'* in 'rifles marching regiments' (RMTs). They were usually brigaded alongside white Zouave units (RMZs), but some battalions of both branches were grouped into *régiments mixtes de zouaves et tirailleurs* (RMZTs). The 10e Régiment de Marche de Tirailleurs Algériens was raised early in 1918, and during heavy fighting in France that year it earned two Army citations – thus this soldier's unit lanyard in the red-flecked green of the Croix de Guerre ribbon.

Issued from October 1915 with blue-painted Adrian helmets from Metropolitan stocks, the Zouaves and Tirailleurs were ordered to repaint them khaki early in 1916, before receiving factory-finished brown helmets with their distinctive North African badge, 'RF' within a crescent (occasional photos show the crescent in unpainted brass finish). The RMTs and RMZs wore M1914/15 mustard-khaki tunics, *culottes* and (eventually) *capote* greatcoats; it had taken some time to complete their issue, and greatcoats of both

Not unusually for the period, a corporal of the 8th Zouave Regt poses in 1918 in a non-regulation walking-out uniform, of khaki four-pocket tunic and apparently white trousers; note the fashionably flared shape of the red *chéchia.* The dark background of the January 1917 collar patches is unexplained, but an example has been illustrated of a *'confection de fortune'* bearing the scarlet '8' and double pipings on a dark brown velours patch. His two, short brown diagonal rank stripes are clear on his left forearm, and on the upper sleeve two service chevrons are visible under the eccentrically arranged lanyard. This is the red *fourragère* of the Legion of Honour, awarded to his regiment for the sixth of its seven eventual citations in army orders; the three battalions from the 3rd and 4th Zouaves serving with 156th Inf Div in Southern Russia were also entitled to this distinction. The ribbon of the 1916 wound badge worn next to his Croix de Guerre (with three progressive citations) suggests that another chevron is worn on his obscured upper right sleeve. (Author's collection)

pre-war dark blue and horizon-blue were worn during 1915. The 2-litre M1877 water canteen was covered with old uniform cloth, which might vary. The Tirailleur branch-colour piping and numerals on the collar patches were bright blue, and sleeve rank stripes and chevrons were in brown, or gold for sergeants.

The September 1917–October 1918 infantry platoon had four seven-man *escouades*, two of which each included three rifle-grenadiers equipped with the *tromblon* launcher for Vivien-Bessière grenades and an M1916 eight-pouch *musette porte-grenades.* This *'turco'* sports the red grenade left-sleeve badge of a qualified grenadier. An order of October 1918 reorganized the platoon into three 12-man *groupes de combat*, each including one rifle-grenadier.

Studio portrait taken at the time of the Greek Army's 1916 mobilization, showing a standing private and a seated NCO both wearing the cap and tunic of the newly introduced M1915 khaki service uniform, as used by the GECSR – the exact shades of brown varied. The enlisted ranks' cap had a cloth-covered visor, leather chinstrap, and a crown badge (here in dull metal) above the painted blue-white-blue national cockade. This private's plain, pointed collar tabs are probably in the red of the infantry branch. They are often absent in photos, as in the case of this sergeant. His rank is marked by double diagonal 20mm woollen braid stripes high on his forearms, in an unidentified branch colour; compare with Plate D2. These soldiers still wear the pre-1915 straight trousers , officially replaced from that year with a type similar to, though narrower than, French *culottes.* Some photos also show men still wearing pre-1915 tunic shoulder straps in branch colour. (Author's collection)

B3: Quartermaster 2nd class, French Navy; Sevastopol, April 1919

This truculent member of the crew of the battleship *Justice* wears service dress, as if for a 'run ashore'. The navy-blue bonnet de marin or *'bachi'* bears a large red pompon on the crown (which, according to legend, was originally to protect the head from knocks when the cap was unofficial working dress). Between two red pipings, the band displays the gold-lettered name of his ship. Above this might be worn an almost invisible blue fouled anchor badge on a blue oval, which some sailors used to stiffen to make it stand out; more senior grades had a gold anchor. Over the white and blue striped vest (*pull rayé*) he wears the navy-blue jumper (*marinière*). This displays on both forearms the two red diagonal stripes of his rate, *quartiermaitre de 2e classe*, and all ratings also wore a red crossed-anchors badge on the upper right sleeve. His light blue and white dress collar and knotted black sateen neckerchief are tucked into the neck of the jumper.

C: GREEK EXPEDITIONARY CORPS (1)

C1: Lieutenant-Colonel Nikolaos Plastiras, 5/42 Evzoni Regiment, XIII Division; Buyalik, April 1919

We illustrate the heroic CO of the 5/42 Evzoni wearing the M1908 officer's service dress with 1915 and 1916 modifications (see C3), under a loose canvas trench-coat. The képi-like cap reinstated in October 1916 bears the five braid stripes of his rank in dark brown, and, above the gold-edged cockade, the gold crown worn by ranks from major upward. The 1915 tunic collar tabs are in infantry-branch red. *Antisyntagmatàrchis* Plastiras, one of the most distinguished officers in modern Greek history, earned the soubriquet of 'the Black Rider' during the Balkan Wars (1912–13); he subsequently fought with distinction on the Macedonian front (1918), in Southern Russia (1919), and finally in Asia Minor during the Greek–Turkish War (1919–22) – when his regiment was called by the Turks the *Şeytanın Askerleri* ('Satan's Army'), and was one of the few units to maintain its cohesion after the collapse in August 1922 (see MAA 501, *Armies of the Greek–Turkish War 1919–22)*. His long and eventful career took a toll of Col Plastiras's health; after serving as Greece's prime minister in 1950–52, he died in 1953 (in poverty – a testament to his impeccable personal integrity*).*

C2: Lieutenant, Mountain Artillery, II Division; Nikolaev, March 1919

This *ypolochagòs.* using a British field telephone, also wears the modernized M1915/16 version of the olive-khaki wool field uniform. The single-breasted tunic had five plain gilt front buttons; smaller buttons on the scalloped flaps of the box-pleated patch breast pockets and the straight flaps of the unpleated skirt pockets; two on the rear of the false cuffs; and two on the officers' collar tabs, which are in artillery-black. His rank is denoted by two dark brown lace stripes around his cap, and two six-point silver stars on the gold central stripe of his artillery-black shoulder straps. The two gold lace inverted chevrons on his upper left sleeve (measuring 60mm x 12 mm) indicate 12 months of front-line service. The medal

ribbons on his left breast are those of the War Cross (1916–17), and the Greek version of the Inter–Allied Victory Medal (1918).

C3: Colonel, 34th Infantry Regiment, II Division; Vassilinovo, February 1919

The *syntagmatàrchis* reconstructed here wears the same basic uniform as C2, with an unaltered French-supplied Adrian helmet. The collar tabs are infantry-red, as are the bases of his field-grade shoulder straps; these bear two silver rank stars set on a red central line between two broad gold stripes. The four gold chevrons on his left sleeve indicate two years' front-line service, which might be spread over more than one war (by the end of his combat service Col Plastiras, C1, would display ten chevrons). The visible medal ribbons are those of the Orders of the Redeemer and of George I, the campaign medal for the Bulgarian front in the 1912–13 Balkan War, and the 1917 medal for Military Merit. His matching olive-khaki breeches are confined in this case by leather leggings and ankle-boots, with strap-on steel spurs. He wears a pale, unpolished copy of the British 'Sam Browne' belt with, unusually, both shoulder braces attached, and an empty sword frog on the left hip. In an unmatching holster he carries a 1908 .38cal Colt Army Special revolver. Other sidearms in use included the French 11mm M1874 revolver, 9mm Browning M1903 and Bergmann-Bayard M1903-M1910 semi-automatics, and the 7.63mm Steyr-Manlichr M1905.

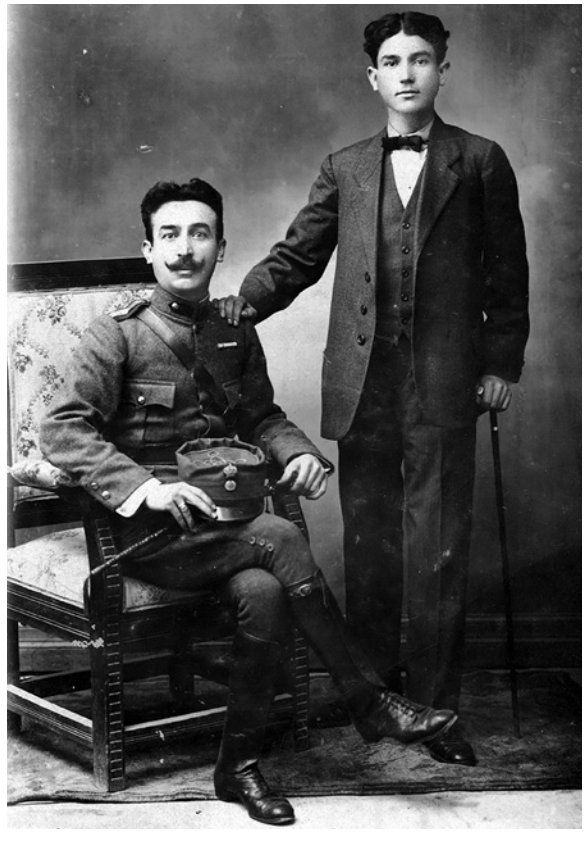
D: GREEK EXPEDITIONARY CORPS (2)

D1: Trumpeter, 5/42 Evzoni Regiment; Kapitanivka, March 1919

The elite Evzoni mountain light infantry regiments bore dual designations: the first number indicated seniority within that branch, and the second their number in the line. The distinctive headgear is a low-profile soft cap *(farizan)*, with the top folding left and a long black tassel *(farion);* it bears a stamped brass badge of a crown above a painted blue-white-blue cockade (these might alternatively be in cloth). The khaki knee-length, single-breasted, five-button frock-type coat *(doulama)* has a large fall collar, plain shoulder straps, and internal skirt pockets; this example lacks the red collar tabs ordered in August 1915, while pre-August 1914 examples might retain red piping to the collar and cuffs. It was worn over a long white *fustanella* kilted shirt, and long white or khaki wool stockings with black or dark blue garters below the knee. The mountaineers' hobnailed *tsarouhia* shoes are illustrated complete with their black decorative pompons, although these, like the cap tassel, were usually removed before going into action. The M1908 leather belt equipment has Y-straps and in this case three box-like M1887 cartridge pouches, and supports on the left the frogged bayonet (obscured here) for his French 8mm Lebel M1886/93 rifle. A canvas 'breadbag' haversack accommodates his basic necessities; the trumpet has no decorative cords.

D2: Sergeant, 3rd Infantry Regiment, XIII Division; Odessa, March 1919

This NCO is illustrated to show the service dress and field equipment, although in reality he would invariably be wearing a greatcoat (either Greek M1908 or M1915, or British-supplied). The Adrian helmet now bears a raised badge of the Greek crown above a shield charged with a Greek cross. The 1915 modification of the enlisted ranks' khaki M1908 tunic has four patch pockets with straight flaps, the breast pockets having box pleats, and plain khaki shoulder straps. While this man does not display the regulation branch-colour collar tabs, the double 20mm golden-yellow diagonal rank stripes of a *lochìas* are edged with infantry-red . (A corporal – *dekaneus* – wore one 20mm stripe, and a lance-corporal – *ypodekaneus* – one narrow 7mm stripe.) The matching semi-breeches were worn with puttees over laced red-brown or natural leather ankle boots. The M1908 leather equipment is augmented by a haversack, with the kidney-section. aluminium-plated canteen attached. A knapsack with a blanket-roll was worn for marching order, and there was also occasional issue of the French M2 gas mask. The Greek Army's standard rifle was the Steyr-manufactured 6.5mm M1903 or M1903/14 Mannlicher-Schönauer, but several other types were employed, including 11mm M1871/84 Mausers, and captured Turkish or Bulgarian weapons such as this ex-Ottoman 7.65mm Mauser M1893. Automatic weapons were the French M1916 CSRG 'Chauchat' LMG and the M1907 St Etienne MG, but only a handful were available to each battalion.



A Greek infantry lieutenant, posing in the company of a civilian; his uniform (compare with Plates C2 & C3) conforms with the regulations applicable between 1915 and the aftermath of the Greek–Turkish War (1919–22). Note the lace quadrifoil 'Austrian knot' just visible on the crown of his leather-visored képi; the two small domed buttons on the rear of his false cuffs (in this case straight rather than pointed); and the three flat buttons at the knee, above his leather leggings. His medal ribbons may be those of the Cross of Valour (1913), and the Greek version of the Inter-Allied Victory Medal (1918). (Author's collection)

Studio portrait of a Tsarist or White army lieutenant or captain in standard service dress; in the absence of Civil War field insignia (see Plates E1 & E2), images of officers in Imperial or White service are often indistinguishable. He wears the single-breasted olive-khaki M1907 *kittel* tunic and matching *furashka* service cap (here with an unusually highly-placed Romanov cockade). The straight cuffs of unmounted branches, and lack of spurs on the soft leather knee boots, suggest that his breeches are infantry dark green. Note the prominent metallic-braid *pogoni* shoulder boards, shunned by the Bolsheviks as a hated symbol of the old regime. He carries his M1909 officers' sword slung in 'oriental style'. (Author's collection)

D3: Seaman stoker, Hellenic Royal Navy; Black Sea, March 1919

Until 1915 the uniforms of the Greek Navy showed mainly French influence, though with some British and Danish traces (the Greek royal family being of Danish extraction). In that year the Navy adopted new uniforms closely based on British models. Although the transition had been completed by the time of the Southern Russia campaign, it was not uncommon for seamen to combine new with old-pattern items until the latter were worn out. This seaman *(naftis)* on stoking duty aboard the *Kilkis*, a US-built 13,000-ton Mississippi-class battleship, has an old-pattern cap and vest with new-pattern fatigue dress. Feeding the steam-powered boilers was hot, dirty, gruelling and dangerous work. When the ship was under way coal had to be shovelled into them non-stop – and at full speed a battleship could consume between 8 and 12 tons of coal per hour.

E: WHITE FORCES

E1: Lieutenant, Denikin's Volunteer Army; Odessa, December 1918

Some volunteer 'officers' regiments' serving with Denikin's forces, such as those of Gens Markov and Kornilov, adopted highly colourful outfits (see MAA 305, *The Russian Civil War (2): White Armies,* pages 14–15 & Plate E.) However, this reconstruction is more typical of White army infantry officers throughout the Civil War, although in summer many wore versions of the *gymnasterka* shirt-tunic, and in 1919 large numbers of British uniforms were shipped in through the southern ports. This *poruchik* wears a version of the Imperial Army's M1912 olive-khaki service uniform of a *kittel* tunic (in this case with collar and cuff piping), with the originally dark green breeches changed for khaki. The fibre-visored M1913 *furashka* cap still displays an officers' silver-gold-black version of the oval Romanov cockade. His rank is identified by three silver five-point stars set in a triangle on his service-quality, red-based, gold-braid *pogoni* shoulder boards. The only specifically Civil War feature is the field insignia of a large chevron in Russian white-blue-red on his left sleeve. All Russian troops displayed decorations on their field uniforms; this officer has the Cross of St George 4th Class, and beside it the silver medal of the first Kuban campaign (the so-called 'Ice March') in the form of a diagonal sword set on a wreath of thorns, as instituted by Denikin on 4 October 1918. Another feature that may distinguish him as a White officer is the leather belt suspenders worn vertically at the front and crossed at the back; Red Army commanders were ordered to avoid this configuration. He is armed with an M1881/1909 officers' sword and a holstered M1895 Nagant revolver.

E2: Lieutenant-colonel, Colonel Slasov's Volunteer Cavalry Detachment; Perekop, April 1919

Imperial Russian cavalry officers came predominantly from the landed aristocracy, and throughout World War I and the Civil War they enjoyed considerable latitude in the details of their uniforms. This officer wears a conventional example of the wartime so-called 'French' tunic (named after the British field-marshal, not the nationality). This might have a standing or a stand-and-fall collar, and four external pockets, the breast pockets with a large box pleat, and all with concealed flap-buttons. The shoulder boards show two narrow facing-colour stripes (here, orange) and the three silver stars of his rank. Again, his White allegiance is displayed by tricolour left-sleeve chevrons .The medal-ribbon bar shows that he has received three awards of successive grades of the Order of St Stanislav. The pre-war dark blue breeches with red outseam stripes identify him as an officer of the mounted branches. Imperial Russia imported French Adrian helmets from late 1915 to 1917, at first painted blue and later khaki; late deliveries were distinguished by an added metal double-headed eagle badge. This officer's helmet is an M1917 Solberg, a Russian variation on the Adrian pattern which was made in limited numbers; pressed in one piece, it has a 'pommel'-shaped finial replacing the comb. His M1912 belt equipment supports an M1827/1909 cavalry officers' sabre, and a leather map case.

E3: Captain 1st Class, Armed Forces of South Russia Navy; Sevastopol, March 1919
Although many naval officers joined Denikin's forces, their contribution to the war effort was minimal – and almost exclusively on land, due to the unserviceable state of most of what was left of the Imperial Fleet in Odessa and Novorossyisk (a cruiser, five destroyers, four submarines and about 20 gunboats). This officer wears the regular black wool winter service uniform of the Imperial Navy, consisting of a single-breasted tunic with a standing collar and patch breast pockets, straight-cut trousers, and the naval version of the *furashka* service cap. His rank is indicated by golden-yellow shoulder boards with two narrow midnight-blue stripes. The summer version of the service uniform was of white cotton, with a matching cap. In practice, black and white uniform items were often combined at personal whim: white tunics might be seen worn with black trousers, or occasionally the white *furashka* with all-black uniforms. This captain attending a social function carries the naval officers' M1914 ceremonial dagger *(kortik),* a symbol of status.

F: OTHER ALLIED FORCES

F1: Private, Polish 4th Rifle Division; Odessa, January 1919
The different elements assembled to form the new Polish Army from 11 November 1918 wore clothing and equipment from no fewer than seven different military organizations, including the Austro–Hungarian, German, Russian and French armies, and unified dress regulations were not published until November 1919. The understrength 4th Rifle Div had served during World War I with the Imperial Russian Army's II Polish Corps; in June 1919 it would be redesignated the 10th Infantry Division. Throughout, the troops still wore Russian uniforms and equipment. However, this soldier has acquired the distinctive field-grey *'Maciejowka'* cap with the Polish eagle-and-shield badge, as introduced in April 1917 for the Polish Armed Forces (*Polskie Sily Zbrojne,* PSZ) formed in the former Russian territory of 'Congress Poland'; enlisted ranks wore it with a cloth chinstrap. His equipment for urban security duties is limited to the Rifles' black belt with M1904 Tsarist buckle-plate, and a single brown M1893 pouch holding clips for his 7.62mm M1891 Mosin-Nagant rifle. The needle-bayonet was habitually carried fixed; the M1892/93 belt frog and scabbard were of poor quality, and were often discarded.

F2: Private, German 53rd Landwehr Infantry Regiment, 15th Landwehr Division; Nikolaev, February 1919
As Landwehr units of older ex-regulars were deemed unsuitable for front-line service on the Western Front, they formed the bulk of the forces committed by Germany to the occupation of the Ukraine. This division had been formed on the Oise front in France in March 1915 from two independent Landwehr brigades; after the German withdrawals of March 1917 it handed its best elements to other formations, and the remainder were sent to the Eastern Front, serving at first in Galicia. At the time of the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk in March 1918 its infantry regiments were the 12th and 53rd Landwehr, but many of the younger men were returned to the Western Front at the end of September; by the Armistice only the 53rd Lw Inf Regt is listed, along with four artillery batteries and a few service units.

The veteran reconstructed here wears the field-grey M1910 visorless field cap for junior enlisted ranks, with a low-visibility grey cover over the red band. The badges are

Studio portrait of an elderly Romanian artillery lieutenant-colonel (one broad and two narrow cap stripes), in the 1912-pattern service dress worn from the start of the Balkan Wars that year, and, by some, until the aftermath of World War I . Later in that war, officers normally exchanged these black breeches for others matching the grey-green (1912), blue-grey (1915), or khaki (1916–17) of their tunics. The ribbon-bar on his breast shows the Order of the Romanian Star, the Order of the Romanian Crown, the French Legion of Honour, and an unidentified award. (Author's collection)

the Imperial *Reichskokarde* on the crown, above the black-and-white Prussian cockade with the miniature cross pattée of the Landwehr superimposed (the 53rd was raised in Westphalia, then part of the Kingdom of Prussia). His simplified M1915 field-grey *Waffenrock* is piped red only around the collar and down the front; his regimental number is displayed in red on the shoulder straps. It is interesting that the economy *'ersatz'* trousers of brown corduroy nevertheless have red outseam piping. His natural-leather belt and Y-straps support two old M1895 black ammunition pouches, and another economy measure is the light green canvas sling on his 7.92mm Mauser 98 rifle. Its M84/98 bayonet, tucked under the straps of the entrenching-tool carrier on his left hip, displays the red-and-white *Troddel* identifying 2 Kompanie, I Abteilung of the regiment.

F3: Artilleryman, attached to Romanian 4th Infantry Regiment; Tiraspol, April 1919

While France had led an Entente military mission to advise and re-equip the beaten Romanian Army in 1916–17, by 1918 the troops of this poverty-stricken force presented a motley appearance. At one time or another they had worn the light greenish-grey M1912 uniform; a simplified 1915 version, which was sometimes blueish-grey; then, in large part Russian khaki, but to some extent French horizon-blue. Since some elements did retain it, we choose to illustrate an M1915 uniform.

The distinctive *capelă* cap, made in various grey shades throughout the war, shows the black branch-colour of the artillery in central fore-and-aft piping on the crown and around the top of the turn-up, and a cloth crossed-cannons badge; regimental numbers were also seen above the latter. This fly-fronted, four-pocket tunic *(bluză)* is light field-grey, with black arrow-shaped collar patches; the collar and shoulder straps are piped black, and the latter bear the embroidered regimental number. The cavalry and artillery both wore black semi-breeches and riding boots, the artillery with red piping; here the black boots have been replaced with cheaper natural leather. The gunner's belt equipment in natural leather is limited to a holstered 9mm Steyr M1912 semi-automatic pistol, and a cartridge pouch. He is holding flannel charge-bags for the 63mm mortar that he is manning.

Romanian infantry wore red distinctions on caps and tunics, with the regimental number on the former instead of a branch badge; grey trousers with puttees; and laced ankle boots in natural leather – in 1916 unusually tall, but later shortened. A prewar pair of M1891 cartridge boxes, and a large khaki haversack accommodating a canteen and gasmask, were often replaced in 1917–18 with Italian equipment, and 6.5mm Mannlicher M1893 rifles were augmented with French 8mm M1907/15 Berthiers.

G: BOLSHEVIK FORCES (1)

G1: Rifleman, 1st Bolshevik Volunteer Regiment; Nikolaev, March 1919

Since both sides wore essentially ex-Imperial Army clothing, dangerous encounters due to mistaken identity were frequent. The RKKA's use of ex-Tsarist/ Republican uniforms with Bolshevik field-signs was typical in 1918–19, at least – in this case, a red diagonal ribbon on the front of the cap, and a red brassard on one sleeve. Red bows were also displayed, both on caps and on the left breast. This *strelok* (rifleman) wears an M1910 winter cap *(papakha)* of artificial lambswool; a double-breasted M1911 greatcoat over a khaki smock-like *gymnasterka* shirt and matching trousers; and hob-nailed knee-length leather boots. The shades of clothing varied due to dispersed manufacture over several years; most greatcoats were grey (see F1), and individuals also often added hooks-and-eyes inside the skirts so that they could be turned up for convenience. The fabric M1892 one-piece bandolier slung across his chest holds 30 rounds for his 7.62mm 'three-line' M1891 Mosin-Nagant rifle. Going into the assault armed to the teeth, this veteran holds an M1914 stick-grenade and an entrenching spade sharpened for combat, and has also acquired a 7.62mm M1895 Nagant revolver.

G2: Junior commander, Chervenskoye Cavalry Regiment; Kherson, March 1919

The RKKA abolished the former Imperial rank titles and insignia in November 1917, and it was not until 16 January 1919 that dress regulations introduced insignia for new titles of command appointments, and new branch colours. In future the *komandiri*, from section (corporal equivalent) to 'front' army corps (general equivalent), were to be distinguished by a large black-piped red cloth star on the left forearm, above insignia of grade. These latter were 1–3 black-piped red triangles (NCO equivalents), 1–4 squares (officer equivalents), and 1–4 diamonds (general-officer equivalents). The new *shlem* (or '*budyenovka')* headgear – a pointed cloth helmet with a fold-up ear and neck flap – was introduced from January 1919, but the *furashka* or similar visored caps were also retained throughout the Civil War. Given the chaotic supply situation, this junior leader (perhaps a *komvzvoda* platoon commander ?), represented only six or eight weeks later, still wears virtually the same uniform as a Tsarist trooper.

He displays the distinctive Red Army cap badge introduced from spring 1918; the slightly convex red star bearing a gold hammer-and-plough was in fact worn 'upside down' (i.e. centred point downward) during its first year. (The hammer-and-sickle symbol would be introduced only from 1922). Another difference, though hidden here under his privately acquired reefer-style jacket, is the absence of Imperialist-style *pogoni* shoulder boards from his M1912 *gymnasterka* shirt-tunic. Early in World War I the *sharovary* breeches of the Tsarist cavalry were usually dark blue, with red *lampasi* stripes or piping on the outseams, but as the war progressed this plain khaki version, with or without leather reinforcement, had become very common. He is armed with a Cossack M1904 *shashka* sabre, worn 'oriental style', i.e. from a cross-strap and with the cutting edge to the rear. The cartridge pouch on his waist belt suggests that he also habitually carries a rifle or carbine.

G3: Rifleman, possibly 15th Regiment, 1st Ukrainian Soviet Army; Berezivka, March 1919

Confirmed orders-of-battle are unknown for this early period, so this identification is speculative. This *strelok* of one of the former 'Insurgent' divisions can just be seen to wear a bashlik hood of oriental inspiration, thrown back over his shoulders with the long hanging ends crossed on his chest and tucked into his belt. Instead of leather cartridge boxes he has two waterproof cloth 'reserve' pouches looped onto his Tsarist belt, plus a hooked-on M1912 'lantern' stick-grenade. Slung to his left hip are the long khaki 'biscuit bag' haversack, and the cloth-covered M1909 aluminium canteen strapped into its broad cup. His rifle is the US-designed, Russian-made 10.7mm bolt-action M1870 Berdan II. The single-shot *'berdanka'*, with black-powder ammunition, was the standard Imperial Army weapon in 1870–91; still in store in large numbers, it was pressed into service by both Red and White armies.

H: BOLSHEVIK FORCES (2)

H1: Rifleman, 1st Ukrainian Soviet Army; Berezivka, March 1919

This reconstruction of an infantryman dressed for the cold illustrates the conical *bashlik* hood worn up over the fleece cap with its ends wrapped around the neck, and.*valenki* felt overboots. He wears a blanket rolled inside a canvas tent-section 'horseshoe fashion', with the ends tucked into the tinned-copper M1882 or M1909 messtin. Behind his left hip is a leather-reinforced waterproof canvas kitbag (which could be worn either as a haversack or on the back as a knapsack),

A group of convalescent RKKA soldiers pose with medical orderlies and a nurse (seated, centre), wearing the *gymnasterka* in a variety of shades. They are identified as ' Red Army-ists ' by the red star that many display on the *furashka*, and the absence of *pogoni* shoulder boards.

Under magnification, the soldier standing prominently at far right can be seen to wear the July 1918 Red Army membership badge, as worn initially by 'commanders' and political commissars, though later more widely. (Author's collection)

and an old wooden M1881 canteen. His Linnemann entrenching spade hangs from the right of his belt; on the left, hidden here, is the knife-bayonet scabbard for his 6.5mm Type 30 Arisaka magazine rifle. Large numbers of these Japanese weapons had been exported to Imperial Russia, including via both Britain and Finland, and many found their way into the hands of the Reds.

H2: Rifleman, 2nd Ukrainian Soviet Army; Crimea, May 1919

This soldier wears the M1909 warm-weather field uniform of the Imperial Army, which, subject to small adjustments, remained in use by the Bolsheviks for much of the Civil War. The most obvious changes were the removal of the *pogoni* shoulder boards, and the adoption of the red star cap badge (see under G2); here it is of post-1918 design, with the point centred at the top. At this period both sides might still display red or white brassards or ribbons as field signs. Period photos show variants of the *gymnasterka* fastening either from left to right, or from right to left. His greatcoat is rolled and worn over his left shoulder, offering some notional protection against bayonets and sabres. Midway through World War I the traditional knee boots began to be replaced with puttees and ankle boots or *bast* shoes, for reasons of economy. Back packs varied considerably: they included the convertible haversack/knapsack shown in H1; a simple olive or khaki cloth bag gathered and tied at the neck and fitted with shoulder straps; and this off-white rucksack. Similarly, rifle ammunition was issued in various cheap linen bandoliers. There was some use by the RKKA of Adrian helmets, complete with the Tsarist badge, from Imperial stores.

H3: Armed civilian; Boyena suburb, Kherson, March 1919

The participation of armed civilians – men and women, young and old – fighting on the side of Grigoriev's pro-Bolshevik forces is well documented, in Kherson and particularly in Nikolaev and Sevastopol. The urban guerrilla reconstructed here wears the traditional low sheepskin cap *(ushanka)* and *kirza* boots common throughout Imperial Russia, and a fur- or fleece-lined double-breasted coat. (Indeed, commanders of the hard-pressed Red Army authorized the wear of civilian clothing by early conscripts.) He has armed himself with an M1891 Mosin-Nagant dragoon rifle, and a large civilian hunting knife at his belt.

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Abbreviations used in this text

AFSR	Armed Forces of Southern Russia (under Denikin)
Arty	Artillery
Bde	Brigade
Bn	Battalion
C-in-C	Commander-in-Chief
CO	commanding officer
Co	Company
Div	Division
GECSR	Greek Expeditionary Corps in Southern Russia
GOC	general officer commanding
HRN	Hellenic Royal Navy (Greek)
LMG	light machine gun
MG	machine gun
Mtn	Mountain
NCO	non-commissioned officer
POW	prisoner(s) of war
Regt	Regiment
RKKA	Red Army (Russian)
Sqn	Squadron
UNR	Ukrainian People's Republic
ZUNR	Western Ukrainian People's Republic

Dedication

This book is dedicated to the memory of the victims of the Allied intervention in Southern Russia, military and civilian alike.

Author's note

Unless otherwise specified, all dates in this book comply with the Gregorian (Western) calendar.
The term 'Bolshevik' denotes the political party of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin), which changed its name, in early 1918, to the 'All-Russia Communist Party'.
The term 'White' *(belye)* denotes the anti-Bolshevik forces active in the Russian Civil War including, but not limited to, Denikin's Volunteer Army.
The term 'Entente' (short for 'Entente Cordiale') denotes the Allied powers in World War I: Great Britain, France, and Imperial Russia, later joined by Italy and other European countries including the Kingdoms of Greece and Romania, and by the United States.
The use of the historical term 'Southern Russia' refers to those areas of present-day Ukraine and Crimea where the Allied forces were active between December 1918 and April 1919. Its use is not intended to reflect the ethnic composition or national identity of their populations, either at that time or subsequently.

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Artist's note

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Peter Dennis, 'Fieldhead', The Park, Mansfied, Nottinghamshire NG18 2AT, UK
The Publishers regret that they can enter into no correspondence upon this matter.

PAGE 3 IMAGE
LtGen Anton Ivanovich Denikin, C-in-C of the anti-Bolshevik 'Volunteer Army' (*Dobrovolcheskaya Armiya*), photographed in Novorossiysk in June 1920 on the day of his evacuation from Russia to Constantinople. A man of some integrity and military competence, Denikin lacked the political astuteness to unite local anti-Bolshevik elements to defeat the Red Army. The decoration on the left breast of his *gymnasterka*, outside the Cross of St George 4th Class, is the 1st Kuban (or 'Ice March') campaign medal, instituted by Denikin for all ranks of his army who participated in his gruelling first Kuban campaign (14 February–31 March 1918). Suspended at his throat is the Cross of St George 3rd Class. (American National Red Cross Collection, through Library of Congress, RC no. 2315).